

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE

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# THE ARENA

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VOL. XXIX.

JUNE, 1903.

No. 6.

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## THE ABUSES OF INJUNCTION.

UNDER English and American jurisprudence an injunction is a command issuing out of a Court of Equity requiring the person to whom it is addressed to do, or refrain from doing, a particular act. It does not relate to the property of the person to whom it is directed, but following the maxim that "Equity acts *in personam*," it addresses its command to the person whose action it seeks to regulate. Disobedience to such a command subjects the person violating it to summary punishment for a contempt of court.

An injunction has always been regarded as an extraordinary method of relief, and Chancellor Kent called it the "very strong arm of a Court of Equity." Appreciating the extraordinary character of this remedy, judges desirous of preventing its abuse have prescribed certain legal principles which should limit the occasions for its exercise. Thus, injunctions should not be issued when there is an adequate remedy at law, or when the facts or law are in doubt.

It has always been recognized that an injunction should not be issued merely to prevent the commission of crime, because a Court of Equity has no criminal jurisdiction. In recent years this power has been arbitrarily exercised and grossly abused. The restrictions formerly regarded as established have been abandoned, and Courts of Equity have traveled over the whole field of human action and subjected the liberty of the citizen

to restraint whenever it has seemed to the individual judge that restraint should be imposed. Lord Eldon resented what he called "the reproach that the equity of this court varies like the Chancellor's foot." But some of our modern judges do not seem to regard the elastic nature of this jurisdiction in this light. The ridiculous extreme to which this power has been stretched is nowhere better illustrated than in the opinion of the Texas Court of Appeals, sustaining an order punishing a defendant for contempt of court for violating an injunction which prohibited him from attempting to alienate the affections of his neighbor's wife. (*Ex parte Warfield*, 50 S. W. Rep. 933.)

The practice of issuing an injunction in a labor dispute originated in an English case decided in 1868. In that case members of a labor union were restrained from issuing placards which requested "all well-wishers" of the union "not to trouble or cause any annoyance to the Springfield Spinning Company Lees by knocking at the door of their offices, until the dispute between them and the self-actor minders is finally terminated." The court held that the publication of such a placard constituted intimidation, which prevented workmen from hiring themselves to the company, and an injunction therefor issued. (*Springfield Spinning Co., vs. Riley*, 6 L. R. Eq. Cas. 551.)

This is the decision which has been followed in the American cases, notwithstanding the fact that it was decided under a local statute and was distinctly and deliberately repudiated and overruled in the Appellate Court. (*Prudential Assurance Co. vs. Knott*, 10 L. R. Ch. App. 142.)

The practice, however, does not seem to have become general in England. It is upon American soil that the injunction has grown and flourished in cases of this nature. The first American case to establish itself as a precedent for the many which have followed it was a case decided in Massachusetts in 1888. (*Sherry vs. Perkins*, 147 Mass. 212.) Here it was held that the displaying of a banner constituted intimidation, deterring others from working for the employer. The only visible sign

of the conspiracy which the court found to exist was the following inscription upon a banner: "Lasters are requested to keep away from P. P. Sherry's. Per order L. P. U."

Since this time decisions sustaining such injunctions have followed one another in rapid succession. It is impossible here to make even a reference to them. Nor is it easy to discover any controlling principle which is recognized by the courts in granting these injunctions.

The cases decided, however, can be divided into three classes:

First—Those cases where the courts hold that force, violence, and intimidation constituting a crime have been resorted to.

Second—Those cases which are based upon the Act of 1887 regulating interstate commerce and the so-called Anti-Trust law of 1890.

Third—Those cases where the application commends itself to the judgment of the judge to whom it is addressed.

Between 1888 and 1891 there were several cases where injunctions were issued in labor disputes, prohibiting solicitations, threats, parading with banners, issuing circulars, and other methods of making a boycott effective. These injunctions were all granted upon the ground that a conspiracy existed and irreparable damage to property would result unless a Court of Equity interfered.

In 1892 an injunction was issued against a miners' union in Idaho prohibiting the miners from entering upon mines of the Cœur d'Alene Consolidated and Mining Co., or from using force, threats, or intimidations preventing employees from working. (Cœur d'Alene Consolidated and Mining Co. *vs.* Miners' Union, 51 Fed. Rep. 260.) The ground upon which the court claimed to grant this injunction was not to protect private rights, but to preserve the public peace and thus protect public rights. In 1893 the field of government by injunction was largely extended by Judge Taft. In this case Chief Arthur of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was prohibited from ordering a strike and commanded to rescind an order

which he had already given boycotting the road. Here the injunction was issued upon the ground that the Interstate Commerce act imposed certain public duties upon the railroad company, the omission to perform which constituted a crime; that Arthur had conspired with others to make it impossible for the railroad company to perform its obligations, and, therefore, Arthur and his associates were guilty of a crime which constituted irreparable injury to the public as well as to the railroad company, and an injunction issued against him. Other cases followed based upon the theory that it was necessary for the public welfare and to protect public rights. By what Carlyle would have called "a satiric destiny" the Anti-Trust law, passed largely in response to the demands of labor unions against those combinations known as trusts, was invoked against organized labor, and injunctions were issued under it. A legal writer thus reviews the history of these injunctions up to 1894: "The Attorney-General of the United States, acting for the United States in the exercise of its sovereignty as a nation, has sued out injunctions in nearly every large city west of the Alleghany Mountains. Injunction writs have covered the sides of cars; deputy marshals and Federal soldiers have patrolled the yards of railway *termini*, and chancery process has been executed by bullets and bayonets. Equity jurisdiction has passed from the theory of public rights to the domain of political prerogative. In 1888 the basis of jurisdiction was the protection of the private right of civil property; in 1893 it was the preservation of public rights; in 1894 it has become the enforcement of political powers." (C. C. Allen's article on "Injunctions and Organized Labor," 17 Rep. of Amer. Bar. Assn. 315.)

Employees have been forbidden by injunction to leave the employ of receivers of a railroad with the intent of injuring the property in the custody of the receivers. And the court assumed the existence of the intent to injure the property from the fact that the men had combined to prevent a reduction of wages. (*Farmers' Loan & T. Co. vs. Pac. R. R. Co.*, 60 Fed. Rep. 803.)



In one case an injunction even went further than this, and absolutely prohibited the workmen from leaving the receiver's employ, regardless of any conspiracy or intent to injure the property. This seems to have been more than the Appellate Court could approve, and this provision was declared illegal on the ground that it subjected employees to involuntary servitude in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. (*Arthur vs. Oakes*, 63 Fed. Rep. 310.)

The courts have not only prohibited persuasion, when accompanied by intimidation and threats, but have actually denied the right of workmen peaceably to persuade their fellows to join them on strike. Thus, in the case of *York Manf. Co. vs. Obedick* (10 Penn. D. Rep. 463), the court said: "It is seriously contended by counsel for the respondents that they had a legal right to approach other workmen in the employ of the complainant, and to *persuade and induce* them either to quit or not to accept such employment. . . . *There is no such legal right.*"

The famous "starvation" injunction issued last summer prohibiting workmen from giving food and assistance to their associates during a strike has been followed by a recent injunction prohibiting the payment of benefit moneys by a labor union to its members pending a strike.

These injunctions, and many others of the same character which have been issued during the last few years, violate fundamental rights. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that in every instance the workmen were engaged in acts in violation of the criminal law, these injunctions were unnecessary and unjustifiable. If the acts were not criminal then the theory upon which the injunctions were issued is incorrect, and they were admittedly without justification. If the acts were criminal, the criminal law provides the punishment to be imposed and the procedure to be followed. The fact is that the only reason for issuing injunctions in those cases, where the prohibited acts are in violation of the criminal law, is to dispense with a trial by jury.

Consider the protection with which the law, as a result of

centuries of struggle and experience, safeguards the liberty of the lowliest citizen. If he is charged with a crime, there must be a hearing before a magistrate, a grand jury must be satisfied that a crime has been committed, and that reasonable ground for believing the accused guilty exists. Upon the indictment found by the grand jury he is tried by a petit jury, and even their verdict if improperly arrived at or contrary to the law may be set aside upon appeal. This protection safeguards the rights of one accused even of murder.

How different is the new method, introduced by these injunctions. A judge sitting at his chambers, upon the *ex-parte* application of a private person or corporation, makes an order commanding not only the defendant in the suit but all the world to do or refrain from doing certain things which are specified in the order. Those violating the order are summarily arrested and brought before the judge whose ukases they are accused of violating. He inflicts punishment upon them. He is judge, jury, and executioner, and if he had jurisdiction his acts cannot be reviewed upon appeal, and the accused is not entitled to counsel. The committing magistrate, the grand jury, the petit jury, the right of appeal, and the right to have counsel are all dispensed with.

Under this system a person can be punished twice for the same offense. He may be fined or imprisoned summarily for contempt in disobeying an injunction issued against him, and for the criminal offense charged he may be tried and found guilty and be subjected again to fine or imprisonment or both.

The sweeping character of these injunctions may be realized when it is recalled that they are issued not merely against the parties to the action, but against all mankind. In the Debs case (158 U. S. 564) the injunction was issued against all the persons named in the bill, and against all the members of the American Railway Union who were engaged upon twenty-three railroad systems and, lest some should be forgotten, against "all other persons whomsoever."

In no legal sense is such an order an injunction at all. It is simply a general police proclamation putting the community in

general under peril of punishment for contempt if the proclamation is disobeyed. The jurisdiction now exercised by Courts of Equity in issuing injunctions in labor disputes is similar to that exercised by the odious Court of the Star Chamber. The offenses which were regarded as peculiarly within the jurisdiction of the Star Chamber were riot, libel, and conspiracy. The course of procedure was similar to that prevailing in Chancery. It possessed power summarily to punish by fine and imprisonment for what an old writer called the "breach of proclamations before they have the strength of an act of Parliament."

The similarity between this jurisdiction and that exercised by courts issuing injunctions in labor disputes is manifest. The cases in which both assumed to act are the same. The procedure adopted is the same. The punishment to be imposed rested entirely within the discretion of the court.

The infamous tribunal of the Star Chamber, resting as it did mainly upon the denial of the citizen's right of trial by his peers, was not without its defenders. Lord Bacon praised it as a "sage and noble institution," and Lord Coke commended it as "a court of criminal equity."

The rights of free speech, free press, and trial by jury, the exercise of which are glibly prohibited by these injunctions, have only been won by centuries of struggle. Men have suffered imprisonment, the thumbscrew and the rack, and sacrificed their lives that we might enjoy these rights.

Are we to be deprived of them now by pieces of paper signed by judges of Courts of Equity?

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## THE FEDERAL JUDGE.

A JUDGE, no matter upon what bench he sits, has enormous power to affect the interests of litigants. Moreover, his decisions deal with difficult and disputed questions. It is inevitable that every decision should carry disappointment to some one, and that many of them should be received with discontent, with criticism, or even with suspicion of wrongful motives. It is, therefore, important both that the conscientious judge should not be unjustly accused, and that blame should attach where it rightly belongs, that all possible influence which may affect a judge's decisions should be thoroughly understood. The present paper proposes to consider some methods of influence which are not always understood. Of deliberate dishonesty, possible upon the bench as elsewhere, no discussion is necessary. It ought to be possible to say as much of the receiving of passes and of like favors from possible litigants. There is, in truth, a double aspect to the dishonesty of this practise. On the one hand, the transportation thus presented is a valuable commodity which belongs to the stockholders. If it is a gift the officers are guilty of a breach of trust. If this accusation is not justified, if, in other words, the transportation is given for consideration, it is very apparent that such consideration is one which cannot be frankly stated; in short, it consists of favors expected from the judge in his official capacity. All this is commonplace, and is tolerated by men of intelligence only because they have grown callous through interest and long usage, else they could not be blind to the patent fact that railroad corporations granting favors to public officials do it only with the expectation of receiving favors in return. Yet the taking of such favors justifies suspicion of the impartiality of the recipient, though doubtless he is often blind to the fact.

I am not able to determine how many judges still put them-

selves under such obligation. Certainly the public impression is that such cases are common. Take one illustration. A certain railroad company has lines running into the city of Chicago, but is organized under the laws of another State, and is, therefore, entitled to have practically all of its controversies tried in the Federal court. Strangely enough, it never lost a case before that tribunal in the space of two years, and a very widespread opinion is that expressed to me in these words: "The judge has an annual pass from that road in his pocket as he sits on the bench, and half of the jury have come in on free transportation over the same road. No wonder it is impossible to win a case against them." Now, I do not say that these charges are well founded. I do say that the public strongly suspect that they are. No man upon the bench will object to an investigation of these matters, provided he has not put himself in an equivocal position. The present intention, however, is to consider certain more subtle influences, which tend to interfere with the even swing of the scales of justice.

A story, published some years since by a Boston publisher, entitled "The Federal Judge," so well illustrates the matter referred to that if it could be universally known the public would more fully understand the actual cause of certain judicial decisions than is now possible. For the present purpose but two characters in the book are of importance. A judge of a State court on a country circuit has earned, when the story begins, a reputation as a corporation baiter, and little hope is entertained that a suit pending before him can be won by the defendant, a certain railroad company; but the president of the road thinks it worth while to attend the trial and study the presiding judge for purposes of future advantage. He meets the judge, a conscientious and strong-willed man, is entertained in his house, discovers his fads and fancies, industriously posts himself upon them, and the two are soon on terms of intimacy, to the astonishment of all the bystanders, who would have said that the two men had nothing whatever in common. As time rolls on a Federal judgeship in the neighboring city, where the railroad president and his friends are paramount in politics, becomes

vacant, and, in the caucus called to consider the question of a successor upon the bench, the president astonishes his friends by suggesting the corporation-baiting country judge for the vacant position. The suggestion is hailed with derision but is finally complied with, and the judge, without an instant's warning, finds his new commission in his morning's mail, and, in his innocence, imagines the nomination to be unsought recognition of individual merit.

Thus, thrown into new and strange surroundings, the judge finds this influential acquaintance a vast solace in the loneliness of his new position. By him he is introduced at a club which proves a pleasant lounging place for his unoccupied hours, and through him makes numerous pleasant acquaintances. As time passes, the president or his friends find means of offering him opportunities of profit, legitimate enough in themselves, but involving no expense or assistance on his part. He feels, and rightly, that offers of this sort are offers practically of bribes, under a pretense of investment, but his scruples are smothered and he finds the prospect of increased income doubly pleasing under the stress of increased expenses, due to the removal of his family to the city. In time, therefore, the one man, as he had foreseen, comes to yield over the straightforward and unsuspecting mind of the other a powerful influence. The judge, who had once been suspicious of his new-found acquaintance because of his corporation affiliations, has come to trust thoroughly in him and in all his acts.

Then comes the contingency for which all this planning was intended. The railroad president finds himself confronted with an adverse element among his own stockholders who are determined to displace him and his friends from their control of the company, and, as the annual meeting approaches, it becomes more and more apparent that their efforts have been successful and that they hold control beyond possible resistance. Again, in caucus of his friends, the railroad president caused surprise by his statement that the railroad will not pass from their control at the annual meeting, and directs his solicitors to prepare a bill for a receiver, declaring his ability to se-



cure the appointment whenever it shall become necessary. Adroitly and carefully, by long course of dissimulation, he persuades the judge by extrajudicial suggestion that the opposing faction are simply railroad wreckers, and that their control means damage to the smaller stockholders. The judge, quick of sympathy and impatient of injustice, falls into the trap and volunteers the receivership, and the majority owners of the stock find themselves ousted from control at the very moment when they had thought victory in their grasp. Again a crisis arises in the form of a strike of the employees of the railroad, and again the judge is led to believe that this, too, results from a dishonest conspiracy of the element hostile to his friend, and he issues a sweeping and blighting injunction against the employees. Only when he finds himself denounced for his subservience does the judge begin to suspect that he has been made a puppet, and that all the specious pretenses in which he has been led to believe were false. The story which I have thus sketched has not in all things been well told, but it sketches most skilfully the method by which certain forms of influence may be applied to the undoing of justice.

Turning from these exceptional, and, therefore, typical methods, let us consider the situation of a judge (and particularly a judge of a Federal court) in a large city where, of necessity, the separation of classes has gone further than in country districts. Every man in the community, and, therefore, the judge as well, seeks the companionship of men in his own class. He is a man of education and intelligence, and consequently he is thrown into association with men of prominence. If he is not a man of large property he has at least that capacity for earning considerable income which amounts to capitalized property, and therefore he associates with men of property. Everything tends to throw him with, and make him the familiar associate of, a certain class of men prominent in business and in social and political life. He meets them at public banquets, at clubs, in societies, philanthropic and charitable. Many of these men he comes to know intimately, and, naturally, to like and to trust them. Their word weighs with him, and in their honesty

he has implicit reliance. Now, let it be supposed that a case is brought to trial before the judge in question, in which one of these men is a party upon the one side and people wholly unknown to the presiding judge appear upon the other. It is but an axiom to say that the judge must be strongly disposed to believe in the willingness to do justice of the man he knows and trusts, and in the truthfulness of the statement that he makes. So far the statement is not likely to be denied. But let it be further supposed that the defendant, perhaps, is a corporation whose directors are men known in business and in social life to the judge, men of prominence and financial respectability. The attorneys of the road as well are men known and trusted by him. On the opposite side are men of whom he knows nothing, save, perhaps, that they are men of less prominent success than the officers of the defendant. It certainly is probable that very considerable bias would result from the facts stated. Add still other elements to the problem. Many of the questions involved in such cases are matters largely of opinion upon social questions. For instance, suppose that the ruling question in the case is one of the application of the doctrine of so-called assumed risk, which is the doctrine that one who engages in a given service, knowing that it implies a certain danger, takes the risk of that danger and cannot recover any damages which may result by reason thereof. Now the defenders of that doctrine would assert that this is fair and just. Upon the other hand, that doctrine is assailed by people having other views upon social questions, with the proposition that it is wholly unjust to make an Italian laborer, earning \$1.25 per day, take the risk of an employment of which he knows practically nothing, and which he must accept in many cases at the risk of starvation, and at the further penalty of being declared unwilling to labor if he refuses. Without considering in any degree which of those two views is more just, it would seem perfectly apparent that the judge is likely to share the opinions and point of view of those who have a similar situation in life to his own. He very probably has some investments, if not in stocks of this or some similar company at least

in some other money-making enterprise, or may reasonably hope to have. Certainly he is not in a position to understand very thoroughly or very justly the exact position of the Italian out of a job, hungry and penniless, who is offered work in an iron furnace; or to perceive that he might, from motives of prudence, refuse to engage in so dangerous a work. Let it be remembered that decisions on such questions as this are made usually on questions of inherent reasonableness, that is to say, upon the opinion of judges who render them, and it is apparent that the views of a particular class are likely to be crystallized into law, and opposing views are not likely to secure very patient attention from the bench.

But there are cases still more extreme. Let the suit at bar involve not only the rights of individuals, but some social question of the widest scope; for instance, the question of the regulation of the charges for a quasi-public corporation operating street cars, gas, water or electric light works, or that of the validity of a statute conferring a franchise which is worth millions of dollars. Upon the one side stands the corporation and its officers, who are the judge's friends, standing for theories of public administration to which he is committed, and insisting upon what they honestly believe, no doubt, to be vested rights. Upon the other hand are men holding new theories of government and of public administration, less supported by the respectability of money, and bound upon overturning the accepted view of the fathers as they have been crystallized in past enactments. Can any one doubt that, in the latter case, friendship and accepted habit of relying upon the good faith and fairness of a given set of men must be a strong motive? Again, is it possible to doubt that the habits, the associations, the established line of thought of a lifetime will largely determine the instinctive conclusions of any mind, however conscientious and unbiased it may seek to be? It would seem that an affirmative answer must be as inevitable as an axiom. No man trained in a given train of thought through a lifetime of action can ignore the conclusions which he has relied on, merely because they are presented in a new phase.

We will now take a single, concrete example of the class of cases which we have been discussing. In a certain American city, some two years since, an attempt was made by the city council to lower by ordinance the rates of a gas company, which were deemed by the people of the community unreasonable and excessively high. The case was heard by a judge residing in the vicinity. He denied the right of the council to make an unreasonable lowering of the rate, but conceded that a reasonable regulation was proper. He further held that a reasonable rate was one which would allow payment of a fair profit upon the capital stock of the company after satisfying all fixed charges. Now, let us notice what the actual questions there involved were. I have not exact figures at command, but it is safe to say that the bonded indebtedness represented at least the value of the tangible property, and that the stock, if not part of the bonded debt as well, meant nothing except the value of the franchise itself. Furthermore, this stock was limited in amount, since it represented no tangible property whatever, only by the wishes and desires of the incorporators. If they had actually made that stock a million dollars, they might just as well have made it one-half million or three millions with exactly the same investment and plant. The decision of the judge, therefore, that such rates must be permitted as would permit payment of a fair dividend upon the stock, amounted to saying that whether a given rate for gas was fair or not depended upon whether the incorporators had provided for one million or three million dollars' worth of stock, though that fact was not in the slightest degree dependent either on the cost of the plant or any other tangible consideration. Whatever the soundness of opinion might have been, it is, at least, apparent first, that the judge was called upon to rule between his friends and people unknown to him; and, second, that he was asked either to follow or discard opinions held irreversibly by men of his class, however that class is to be defined. I think it is apparent that I am not considering any question here of intentional dishonesty, nor do I mean to assert that, in the particular case referred to or any other of like class, the judge

has the slightest intent to be unfair or to allow his judgment to be in any way biased.

Now for certain conclusions from these facts. It is apparent that the various forms of influence to which I have referred shade slowly off from positive dishonesty to mere unconscious bias, perfectly consistent with an extreme desire to be fair and upright. With the grosser forms of bribery the ordinary criminal statutes have to do, and no special modification of them is needed. But when we come to the receiving of passes there is crying need of new legislation making such acts criminal, and of investigations by grand juries, or otherwise, which will strengthen public opinion and force the erring officials to an intelligent appreciation of the real meaning of their acts. When this is once accomplished, and the practice is once rated as it should be, no judge will take a pass who would not take a direct bribe. The change is surely needed. When it is rumored that a given judge has spent his vacation in a private car belonging to the manager of a railroad which has much business in his court, public respect for him and his decisions is seriously damaged, whether the statement is true or false.

As to these less tangible methods of influence there is probably no direct remedy for the undoubted evils suggested. But it is desirable that the real bearing of things should, as far as is possible, be understood. Now, the fact is, that a judge under the common law at least, probably under any system of laws, is, and of necessity must be in a sense, a legislator. A judicial decision is a statement of the right as the judge sees it, and since human notions of the right vary from time to time, judges must decide differently, however they strive to obey the precedents of the books. Now wealth, position, influence of any sort, being the result of success under things as they are, naturally tend toward conservatism. All of the forms of unconscious—perhaps I should say subconscious—influence, of which I have spoken above tend toward the preponderance of the rich, the influential, the powerful, in short, so far as they affect or are affected by general social principles, they tend toward conservatism, and against change. Hence it is that the

radical, perceiving effects though not always tracing causes, grows impatient of courts, and denounces, for instance, government by injunction. Such obstacles act like a balance wheel, delaying but not preventing motion. When men perceive the bearing of these things they will displace a judge who has fallen hopelessly behind the world of enlightened opinion, as surely, if not as quickly, as one who has taken to open bribery. But for the one they will have the profound respect due to an honest opponent, as surely as they will despise the other. And the distinction will be real, lasting, and of great importance. As things now are, however, men fail to appreciate the view-point of the judge, and viewing the matter from their own, think his decision rascally, as, in truth, it would be if he saw the facts as they do. And thus the innocent and the guilty are confounded in a confusion which is not only unjust to the individual, but breeds mischief in its ultimate effects.

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## THE INSANITY OF THE CITY.

THE steam age found American population fairly well distributed over the whole country; with small cities and villages as nuclei for distribution. Displacing animal power, and, largely, human power, it compelled the massing of population where power could be used. Nearly all our old domestic industries, which had constituted the chief charm of country life, were taken to large factories, around which closely grouped the homes of the workmen. The individuality which had constituted a chief feature of colonial life, gradually gave way to the herding instinct. Seventy-five years of this social training not only made our laborers satisfied with congested city life, but capital had no better thing to offer than long rows of mansions. All the difference between the manual toiler and his employer consisted in the difference between a twenty-foot lot and one with a frontage of one hundred feet. On these lots there were similar structures, which by courtesy were called homes. The herding instinct grew until three-quarters of the increase of population sought city life. The better brains on our farms found farm life dull, and separated from the vitality and the activity of the age.

The amassing of wealth necessarily followed, and, by contrast, poverty became more and more conspicuous and less tolerable. The tenement and the flats, at the close of the century, became symbols of social sentiment and spiritual thought. These were simply more or less distressing methods of vacating individuality and aborting home life. Our schools and our churches, instead of being supplemental to home life and to family culture, became intellectual and spiritual hospitals for the young people. Parents deliberately farmed out their children to get their morals, their religion, and their information from organisms outside the household. Home steadily was losing its meaning, and possibly its necessity. The farmer

became Mr. Hayseed, and was despised by the grocer, who peddled the products which the farmer had created. At last it became impossible to convey to and fro the vast masses of humanity that the city collected. By no possible means can the tide that goes into and out of New York city be accommodated with conveyance. Surface and overhead transit are already overburdened, and it is estimated that underground transit will be swamped as soon as opened. Buildings climbed higher and higher toward the skies, until the people actually grew proud of sky-scrapers, pointing at them as great achievements of engineering. In this way humanity was piled in strata, and conventionalism ruled, not only in social affairs and in household matters, but in office life.

In 1894 Edward Orton, the geologist, and a most assured authority, published a monograph in which he said that the coal age was rapidly nearing its end. By 1930 every known seam of anthracite coal would be exhausted, the Pittsburg seam alone excepted. With coal must also go, to a large extent, the age of steam. This pamphlet had but little influence upon business life, simply because business had come to be run strictly on the principle of "after me the deluge." No one in America has been bred to save a tree or spare a scuttle of coal for the future. As a result we have succeeded in obliterating our forests in a single century, and unbalancing our climate. We have been equally successful in wasting two tons of coal for every ton of coal sent to market. Meanwhile, in England, three different Parliamentary Commissions examined into the condition of the coal fields of the British Empire. Each one of these reported that the coal deposits could not meet the demand for a single century—probably not for seventy-five years. England has, therefore, instituted a rule of economic production and use. But Mr. Orton did not foresee the almost immediate exhaustion of European coal. That of Germany failed two years ago to meet the enormous increase of demand. In this country the strike of 1902 startled the people into some consideration of the great fact that fuel was not as sure and cheap as fifty years ago. In other words, the steam age, with its rush and noise, its massing

of the people, its heaping up of wealth, and tossing of poverty into the gutter; but, withal, its ability to conceive enormous projects, and to achieve marvelous undertakings—the tunneling of mountains, the linking of States with bands of steel, and the converse of continents through ocean beds—is nearing its end.

Just at this crisis a new power offers its services, distributive rather than centering. This new power undertakes to dissolve the city and to rebuild the country. Almost without observation, the revolution has begun. From 1880 to 1890 the increase of population sent 54 per cent. into city life; but from 1890 to 1900 only a little over 30 per cent. Since that date we have sufficient statistics to make us confident that the percentage is reduced to somewhere near 25 per cent. In other words, instead of three-fourths of the population drifting into congestion and organizing itself about the factory, three-fourths are now moving countryward; organizing about the reconstructed home; reconstructing the town school and the town church, and creating a vast suburbanism, that widens out farther and farther to cover the whole country.

This tide is met and stimulated by three great forces. First of all comes that noblest evolution of socialism, the Rural Free Mail Delivery. The first appropriation for this service was made in 1894; but the Postmaster General refused to use it. Our latest news from the department says, "With four more years, at the present ratio of increase, we will cover every square mile of the United States." This free delivery of the mail means a very rapid increase of intelligence, and equalization of social privileges. Close after, perhaps even more important, is the rural telephone service. It is only about six years since the Bell Telephone Company refused to build rural country lines, considering it an unprofitable venture. There are now millions of miles of rural telephone lines in the United States, and at the present ratio of service that will be an isolated farmhouse indeed which, in ten years, has not its telephone. Our great suburbanism is thus linked together and unified. Meanwhile the trolley feels its way around where the steam

car could not extend its service—up the minor valleys, and among the hills. It even picks up the farmer's wagon at his door, and hauls it direct to market. What the trolley means to American agriculture and to American country homes we hardly begin yet to conceive.

With these mechanical miracles the reaction to country life means the evolution of a new and in every way wonderful national life. It does not reconstruct the old country life of pioneer days; but a new life, full of applied science—intensive and not extensive in its method. The new home will win more bread from five acres than the old home from fifty. Isolation is absolutely abolished. The farmhouse is connected with post-office, depot, market, and physician. The reconstituted town school gives noble buildings, centrally located, with high-grade teachers, in place of the little district schools that squatted at the roadside. By telephone the most remote inhabitant can be attached to church service or to the scientific lecture hall. Country life begins rent free; with pure air, pure water, loosened conventionalism, less nerve wear, with birds, bees, flowers, fruit—ideals. It is the only sane life. The Boston banker, the New York merchant, the Philadelphia lawyer, all these are able to live at a distance from the city confusion, each in his own tree-embowered home, and by means of the telephone conduct much of his business, quite as well as when in his store or office.

Literature is not slow in adjusting itself to reconstituted social conditions. The new rival of the novel is the nature book. Nothing sells so well. The one book that most stirred Paris during 1902 was Wagner's "The Simple Life." Nature studies are natural studies. Those who follow the lines that Nature suggests to the child find themselves studying geology, botany, entomology, ornithology. All these are legitimate factors of a country home. They are all applied in the orchard and in the garden. The school, like the home, will ere long be planted in a garden. One-half of each day will be given to books, one-half to outdoor study. The brain and the hand will go together. We shall cease to imprison our children in school-

houses during their most ebullient period of life. The supreme duty of a filial citizen is to comprehend this drift of our age, and to stimulate it by his coöperation. We are beginning a new era in State, in church, and in school. There will be more honor in politics, more charity in church, and more common sense in education. There is a deep settled conviction, with all-classes, that city life is unnatural, and that country life is an institution of God.

E. P. POWELL.

*Clinton, N. Y.*

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MAYOR JOHNSON'S ELECTION.

**I**N the recent election in Cleveland, Ohio, which attracted such widespread attention, the people were chiefly interested in the fact that the Republican ticket seemed to be entirely nominated by the street railways, and their manager, Senator Hanna, who is president of one of the roads; while Mr. Johnson was everywhere recognized as having fought with the utmost energy and ability to secure three-cent fares and as high a proportion of assessment to true value in the case of public utilities as of real estate.

The candidate for mayor on the Republican ticket was Mr. Harvey D. Goulder, who was and is the attorney for Mr. Hanna's large shipping interests, and whose partner secured the court injunction and decision destroying the Federal plan of government in Cleveland in order to prevent the passage of the three-cent fare franchises when nothing else stood in the way.

Mr. Goulder, on the stump, boldly defended the action of his partner in overthrowing the Federal plan, and claimed that the new code for all the State was much superior, and that the three-cent fare ordinance of Mayor Johnson ought not to have been permitted to become law. Yet Cleveland and the municipal reformers the country over believed that the Federal plan of concentrated responsibility was far superior to the board plan of divided responsibility which is now forced upon us.

The Republicans also had nominated for the council some men known to be in sympathy with the street railways, and of bad record in past dealings with them; while they had refused to renominate any prominent Republican in the present council who had ever shown any independence in regard to monopoly questions.

The replies or defenses of the Republicans made the matter worse for them. They declared in the first place that it was



not at all certain that the companies could stand a three-cent fare, and that seven tickets for a quarter, with universal transfers, might be enough to ask for a twenty-five years extension as demanded in the Republican platform, but the reply was at once forthcoming that new companies stood ready to offer three-cent fares. The second reply of the Republicans was that even if the new companies obtained franchises on certain streets at three cents the old companies might continue to charge as now five cents, with six tickets for a quarter and without universal transfers, until their franchises ran out, at various times from two years to fifteen years hence. To this Mayor Johnson replied that, since the streets of this city radiate from a certain point like the spokes of a wheel, the three-cent fares on certain streets would probably force lines on neighboring streets to the same terms, and, anyway, when the franchises on one or two important lines expire between one and two years hence, the new lines would be able to bid for the old ones on a three-cent fare basis and to take them in case the old companies refused to make as good a bid.

Furthermore, the three-cent fare propositions of Mr. Johnson, on which companies stand ready to bid, permit of municipal ownership and operation at any time on paying the structural value plus 10 per cent.

Mr. Goulder tried to turn the attack by charging that Mr. Johnson had proved a failure in getting three-cent fares during the last two years, and, therefore, might prove a failure again, and said his promises were not to be trusted. The reply was a boomerang, and was that while Mr. Johnson had not actually promised three-cent fares two years ago, his strenuous efforts to secure them had only failed because of the opposition of Mr. Goulder's firm and of his client, Senator Hanna, and other Republican interests.

Mr. Goulder then charged that Mr. Johnson had shown disrespect to law by attempting to grant three-cent fare franchises and investigate inequalities in taxation in ways which the courts had declared illegal, and, therefore, Mr. Johnson was a disrupter of government. Mr. Johnson's reply was that the thir-

teen injunctions levied against the administration in the past two years, and the fourteenth that was levied during the campaign in order to prevent low fares and proper taxation, were so obviously instigated by the monopoly interests as to be deserving of little respect. Furthermore, there was so little reason to expect such injunctions that it was natural to have made the moves that had been made prior to the issuance of such injunctions, for the courts had overturned the precedents of all other previous decisions in such cases, overthrowing, for example, the Federal plan, which they had hitherto upheld for ten years, in order to stop the administration.

Mr. Goulder then charged upon the administration extravagance and an increase of taxes, but was unable to point out, or, at least, to prove that the increase in expenditure was extravagant or unnecessary. The fact was that when Mr. Johnson became mayor the ordinary operating expenses of the city per capita were only one-third of those of Boston and two-thirds of those of Cincinnati and many other prominent cities. Mr. Johnson, in harmony with the prevailing sentiments of the city, saw the need of larger expenditures for street paving, lighting, sewerage, parks, etc., and always insisted that the great problem before the city was not the saving of a few pennies in operation, although honesty and efficiency were indispensable, but how to increase the revenues by reforms in taxation so as to bear upon special privileges and land values.

Moreover, the charge of extravagance was further met by the universally admitted fact that the Water Department had been taken entirely out of politics by the mayor, despite the opposition of certain elements of his own party, and that the mayor had announced that this was his definite policy regarding the proposed municipal electric light plant, to which the administration is pledged this year, and with respect to other city departments. Senator Hanna was known to be a spoilsman of the "first water," who avows his contempt for the merit system.

The Republicans finally fell back upon the charge, sincerely believed by a good many of the clergy and church people, that the mayor had not been sufficiently strict in regard to the vice

of the city. The reply of the mayor in substance was that his administration compared well in this respect with preceding administrations, and some positive accomplishments had been secured, such as the refusal to allow the union of saloons and sporting houses, while it was frankly proclaimed that the present administration did not believe in the policy that had hitherto prevailed of raiding certain houses frequently for the sake of securing funds for the police court.

The same old story was true here as so often elsewhere, as, for example, under Mayor Jones, of Toledo; Pingree, at Detroit, and Harrison, at Chicago, that the great portion of the influential church members, who were investors or in other ways more or less affiliated with the great monopoly interests of the city, opposed any curbing of these interests, while the masses, including those whose only club room and concert hall is the saloon, were friends of economic reform. The attempt, however, to make political capital out of this situation proved a failure. Mr. Johnson brought forward many ethical ideals of economic and social progress, and captured the young men of the city, no matter what their previous political affiliations. One of the best Republicans in the city was placed upon the Democratic ticket for one of the most important offices, through the efforts of the mayor. Another of the same caliber received his support for the city council, and every Democratic candidate for the council signed an agreement to work for three-cent fares and municipal ownership of public utilities.

Under these circumstances it is perhaps not wonderful that the reorganized Democracy of this county, which held only one elective office two years ago, has now wrested fifty-six offices from the Republican party and is likely to secure the few remaining ones the coming fall; and the campaign for equality in taxation and for the public ownership and operation of public utilities on the merit system under the magnificent leadership of Mr. Johnson is only just begun. The future work of such a leader deserves the attention of every lover of good government.

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## THE RIGHT OF THE LABORER TO HIS JOB.\*

### I. THE MORAL RIGHT.

**B**IBLICAL cosmogony teaches that the decree went forth at the time of man's creation "By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt earn thy daily bread." Scientific cosmogony teaches the same thing. We find the human race requiring for its sustenance and development food, clothing, and shelter, which can be procured by labor only. We find the species itself equipped with organs specially adapted for the performance of labor. If Paley's teleological argument is accepted then we were created for labor. If we accept Darwin, these organs have been developed under strain of the necessity of labor. In either case it is clear that labor is our lot.

It is our species alone, of all the species that inhabit the earth, that are endowed with these organs which make self-directed labor on a large scale possible. The animals that browse for their food or lie in wait for or run down their prey, do not and cannot perform labor in the sense in which we understand the term. The animals and insects which during a season of plenty store up food for a season of scarcity come nearer to being laborers in the sense in which man performs labor, but they are guided rather by instinct than by reason, and their activities are so limited that at best they can hardly be said to form an exception to the statement that man alone of all the species that inhabit the earth is intended by his creation and adapted by his physical structure and mental endowments to be a laboring animal.

The biblical and scientific cosmogonies, however, differ in one point. The biblical cosmogony makes labor man's doom. The scientific cosmogony makes it his birthright.

\*Address delivered before the section of Social and Economic Science of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at its Annual Meeting, in Washington, D. C., December 30, 1902.

According to the Mosaic account our race was created in a garden of pleasure, where everything that it sought or desired was at hand, where every wish was gratified, and every aspiration fulfilled without exertion. It was only after man sinned that he fell to the doom of labor.

Science makes clear to us who are its devotees that it has been through our ability to labor and the impetus we have acquired from the necessity of labor that we have been kept rising among the scale of animated beings.

In the Mosaic Eden the snake and the woman stood on an equality, or rather the snake seems to have been the most intellectual and the dominant creature of the two. The snake commands, the woman obeys, and the man follows the example set by the woman. In scientific anthropology we learn that man started on his career—even at the beginning—the lord of creation, and that from the beginning to now he has ever and ever kept widening the distance between himself and the animate creation below him. He has done it by his ability to labor, and because his more complicated structure so increases his necessities and his desires that labor became imperative.

So it is, I say, that science teaches us that labor is not man's doom, but his boon. He can work and he needs to work, and, therefore, he has a right to work.

Theology and science, however, both agree as to the substantial import of the decree which emanated from the garden of our nativity, wherever that garden and wherever that nativity was. By the sweat of man's brow he is to earn his daily bread. Call it a doom or a boon, which ever you choose. The right is a necessary consequence of the necessity. If man must earn his daily bread he has a right to do so.

We lawyers have formulated certain rules for the construction and interpretation of legal documents. They are rules that are really applicable to the construction and interpretation of all written or spoken language. One of the first rules that the law student finds in his first text book is that a grant imports a right to the reasonable enjoyment of the thing granted, and a duty a right to do the things necessary in the performance of

the duty. Whether, therefore, the command "By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt earn thy dally bread" is a birthright or a doom, we are entitled to enjoy it if it is a birthright and to conform ourselves to it if it is a doom.

If we must work, either because of divine command or by the necessities of our natures, we have a right to work.

## II. THE LEGAL RIGHT.

A legal right is only the formulation of a natural right. The statutes against killing do not make murder a crime; they simply recognize it as such.

A man is allowed to have as his own that which his own hand has fashioned, not because the law books say so, but because the laws recognize a right which antedated the laws themselves. If a man has a moral right to work there is now some legal recognition of that right or such legal recognition must be formulated whenever it is required. If the right to work was one of the rights omitted from the enumerations in the Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence, it was because in those times no such thing was known as the inability to get a job. It required unremitting toil fourteen and sixteen hours a day to earn the food necessary to keep humanity from starvation. Labor then, as compared with labor now, was very unproductive, but there was plenty of demand for it and plenty of jobs to be had for the asking.

Now the progress of science and invention, the improvements in machinery and the processes of production, and the advance of civilization, have so multiplied the productive power of human labor that half the world, working half the hours, produces twice as much, and the laborer—if he belongs to the under half—finds himself out of a job.

Primitive man found his job too big for him and it took countless generations of labor to make the world fit to live in. Modern man finds his job too small. He gets through with it too soon, and has to go without work and wages till he is lucky enough to find another. To the original man the whole world



was open, and there was plenty of room for everybody. He could snare his game in the forest; he could catch his fish in the waters; he could pluck the fruit from the bush; he could cultivate the soil wherever he found a favored spot; he could eat the food which he found; he could drink the water bubbling from the earth; he could sleep under any protecting tree or beneath the canopy of heaven, and there was no one to interfere. He could wander at will over the earth, a savage, but a freeman and a sovereign. There was no policeman to interfere with his sleep on the park benches. There was no barbed wire fence across his path. There was no judge to commit him for vagrancy, and no jail to confine him after a ten days' sentence. The life which he led was not altogether an enviable one, but it was the life of a man over whom no other man had jurisdiction and who could come and go as he listed.

Modern man, when he arrives at years of discretion, finds a far different state of things. The forests have been cut down and domestic animals with an owner's tag on them have taken the place of the wild game which was free to his ancestors. State officials and private watchmen protect the fish. The land has been fenced in and signs confront him on every side "Keep off the grass. No trespassers allowed." If he ventures to pluck an apple from an over-hanging bough he is tried for petty larceny. In the city the policeman tells him to move on. In the country highway if he loiters near a dwelling the farmers set their dogs on him. The only thing that can save him from starvation is a job. The only way in which his right to work can be recognized is by giving him the right to his job, for without the job he cannot work and the right to work, under modern conditions, must of necessity imply the right to a job.

The only way in which property in land—the appropriation of the common earth by the landowner—can be justified, is by giving the workman, the landowner's fellow citizen of the earth, a complementary right to earn his daily bread by his daily labor, somewhere and somehow; that is, by giving him some kind of a job. If the owner says "Keep off my land which you might otherwise cultivate or hunt upon and get your living from,"

then he must be able to answer the inquiry of the man he turns off "Where shall I get a job by which I may earn my daily bread by the sweat of my brow?" The socialist, the communist or the anarchist, or all of them, must and will occupy the chair of state now held by the individualist, unless the individualist can answer the question of the man seeking the chance to earn his daily bread by his daily labor, "Where can I get a job?"

Darwin said that the discovery in all creation of a single species that had acquired a single organ or instinct that was not for its own benefit would be a complete answer to his whole philosophy of evolution. That answer has never been found.

I say that the discovery of a single citizen, able and willing to earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow, but who cannot after patient search find a job, is a complete answer to the whole philosophy of private property. Mr. Landowner, you must find a job for that man or give up your acres. Mr. Statesman, you must find that man a job or go out of business.

I do not, however, see the necessity for the landowner to give up his land or for the statesman to go out of business, for I think the job can be found and that we can find means to assure to the laborer a chance to earn his daily bread by his daily labor as a matter of right, instead of giving it to him when we please as a privilege.

I am here to-day to stand for the necessity of finding a remedy rather than to formulate one. That some legislative action must be taken seems to me clear. We must put upon some more solid legal foundation the right of the workman to his work. The discovery of the best way in which to accomplish this is not an easy task, but I do not think it is by any means impossible. The following are my suggestions:

1. Labor courts must be established with jurisdiction to determine differences between employers and employees, and their jurisdiction must not be made to depend upon the consent of the parties concerned. Limits may be imposed upon this jurisdiction which will minimize the perhaps unavoidably resulting evils or inconveniences. The jurisdiction may be made to depend upon the number of laborers employed by one em-

ployer. The small farmer and his single hired man can safely be left to settle their own differences. Certain kinds of employment will naturally be left out of the court's jurisdiction. I hardly think domestic servants need such a court. I should naturally suggest that a lawyer and the clerks in his office be left to work out their own salvation.

Generally speaking, the jurisdiction of the court would naturally be confined to the case of employers constantly employing large bodies of workmen.

The principle I am contending for is that such employers shall not have the power arbitrarily and without cause or reason to discharge their workmen or take away their jobs. As matters now stand, there is nothing in law to prevent the employers from discharging men on account of the color of their hair or the style of their cravat. A discharged man may starve. I do not think that the life of a citizen and those dependent on him should depend upon the mere whim of an employer.

2. I think the State should extend the field of its activities in the line of a more general ownership and operation of public utilities, and in that way become a larger employer of labor—have more jobs for its citizens.

3. I think the State should engage in more works of public improvement, and give the community better roads, more and better parks, better sanitation, more schools, more things which go to make the life of the average citizen better worth living.

All this gives jobs to its citizens as well as general benefit to the community.

4. I think the State must go still farther into the industrial field if necessary—far enough so that it is able to assure to each citizen who cannot get it elsewhere a chance to work for the State itself. It must, if necessary, build factories and workshops, and operate mines and ranches. It must keep on extending the sphere of its activities till every man has work who wants it.

If the State is to protect the land owner in the monopoly which he enjoys, it must be ready to see that every citizen has a chance at a job. The land and franchise owner must submit

to whatever taxation may be necessary to give men who do not own land or franchise a chance to work either for some other man who does, or for the State itself. The title deeds of him who would call himself the owner, and so have a monopoly of a part of the common earth, must be made dependent upon the giving to him who has no such monopoly a chance to earn his daily bread.

I think the time has come when we must re-write the Declaration of Independence so that it will read, "All men are entitled to certain inalienable rights, and among these rights are life, liberty, and a job."

Perhaps that is the way the distinguished author of the Declaration intended it to be read. The phrase, "the pursuit of happiness," may have been only his synonym for "a job."

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## WILL THE CHURCHES SURVIVE?

NOTE should be made that the question is not will religion, but will the churches survive, which is quite another and different matter. It should also be noted that the word religion is used instead of Christianity, because there is so much in connection with the churches that can come under the head of religion which is not Christian.

It is said that where there is a soul there will always be a body, and the church is considered as a body of which religion is the soul, the argument being that, as long as there is faith, worship, piety, a Christian spirit, and a religious life, so long will churches exist, and the implication is that that is forever, or as long as mankind remains. Doubtless there is an element of truth in this statement, yet there is abundant and perfectly obvious evidence that, however it may be with this soul (*religion*), its body (*the churches*) shows signs of weakness and inefficiency, possibly decay. Certain it is that if the churches, as they stand to-day in America, in their attendance, their influence, and their active life are the embodiment of the whole spirit, life, influence, and service of religion, if they represent fully the soul of religion, then that soul is not particularly great, powerful or vital in the life of the world, and the question here raised is eminently open to debate. For it is true that, judging the life, influence, and future of religion by the strength, vitality, and actual service of the churches to the world to-day, the result is far from certain and convincing as to the affirmative of this question.

It would seem from the fact of the great variety of efforts and expedients the churches are putting forth in the present time, ranging from a dime supper to an institutional church, as if the churches themselves are beginning to feel that their power is waning, and are anxiously considering their future and

madly striving to maintain their leading position in the life of the world and the progress of civilization. The constant and almost frenzied efforts and experiments of every sort which the great majority of churches, those outside the largest and most successful ones in the great cities, are exerting and trying, certainly indicate to an unbiased observer that the churches seem to feel that they are in rather desperate straits, and must put forth wide and strenuous efforts if they are to keep abreast of the world and hold a commanding position in its life.

The churches to-day are literally at their wits' ends to devise plans and invent means to draw and hold people, to keep up their numbers, and retain the interest and support of the communities where they exist. They are not only suffering from the commercialized view of everything, so prevalent at present in our national and social life (and are striving to get ministers who will *draw*, more or less regardless of whether they will preach and live the Gospel, the pure and good life, and the will of God in society), but they are constantly resorting to all the fads and inventions of the social and amusement world to interest and draw the public, to increase their size and strength, and command respect and influence in the nation's life.

Time and space would fail one to enumerate all the novel, sensational, cheap, and superficial attractions and amusements which the churches are constantly conducting to draw and hold the people. They range from the Seven Cent Social to Chain Whist, from Circle Suppers to Amateur Dramatics, from Ping-Pong Parties to Three-Day Fairs or Sales with their exorbitant prices and guessing contests (which, under worldly auspices would be called lotteries), all of which follow each other in endless succession. How often have we all heard from church committees and patrons the anxious and perplexed remark, "What shall we get up next to make some money and keep up the interest in our church?" Not that these things are wrong, not that they are necessarily out of place under church auspices and are to be condemned, but they are an indication of the changed conditions in the churches, and the different means and methods they have adopted to maintain their strength



and influence in civilization. Certainly all this is, on the face of it, a frank admission on the part of the churches that they cannot any longer appeal successfully to the world at large, and draw and hold the public and popular interest and support by their purely religious offices (as the word religion is commonly used), the offices of preaching, worship, and general religious services, but must resort to more worldly and attractive and entertaining means, or to those of practical and institutional religion, such as Every Day churches, etc. This fact alone is enough to raise the question whether they will always survive in the nature and sense in which they have existed up to the present time.

A second fact that indicates the uncertain life of the churches in the future is that they are out of touch with the working classes, that they have but a small place in, and but a feeble hold upon, the life of the great mass of society. So eminent a preacher and authority as the Rev. Dr. Thomas, of Chicago, recently pastor of the People's Church in that city, says: "Somehow the churches have lost their hold upon the confidence, sympathies, and almost the respect of the laboring people. I asked a leader of a labor union of three hundred members how many attended church. 'Practically none,' he said. 'A few women may go, but not half a dozen men in a year.' Whether right or wrong, the laboring men feel that the churches in general are not their friends; that they are for the rich; that money controls both the pulpit and the pew; that the preachers, as a rule, either do not care for the rights of the laboring man or that they dare not plead his cause." "The painful fact cannot be blinked that the masses have been eliminated from the churches," declares Dr. Rabbi Hirsch. The very people to whom, primarily, is the mission of the churches are now the ones least affected by them, and the true life and efficiency of such institutions are thus to a great extent destroyed. The field which alone gives the churches their greatest vitality, and affords the best opportunity for their most permanent and highest work is practically closed to them by their failure to reach and hold this portion of humanity. This portion, this great body of laboring people,

forms the great bulk of society, and is constantly increasing; it is the foundation and the principal life-giving support of all society's institutions, churches among the rest. Whether the churches can long continue to exist, in any vital, efficient, and real sense, without the sympathy, support, and the coöperation of this growing mass of humanity is, it would seem, a fair question. That the workingman does not want a church of his own, made up of his own number solely and manned from his ranks, is attested by the testimony obtained from a large number of workingmen by a recent investigator in this field. The verdict of three hundred labor leaders to whom letters were sent in regard to a workingman's church was an emphatic "No!" The further statements received at the same time furnished equally strong evidence that the workingman also has no use for the kind of churches we now have, and that these churches have little or no hold upon his confidence and regard, no influence upon his life.

It is also true, in the main, that the churches are failing to hold the interest and command the means of the more wealthy *practical* philanthropists and reformers. This fact adds to the insecurity and uncertainty of the churches' life; for the great wealth of individuals has much to do with the financial success and stable life of the higher institutions and better works of society, and in these the churches must share or slowly die. While the churches, in some cases, are struggling to keep alive, and in others to increase their work for the uplifting of humanity with but small success, the wealth of the land seems to ignore them more and more, and flows in other channels, accomplishing the purpose and work of the churches through the avenues of philanthropy, reforms, and other so-called secular enterprises.

While the churches are busy with the small and selfish things of creed, sectarian strife, and elegant and costly houses of worship, the real spirit of the Christian religion is finding expression in the world in other ways and through other avenues. And when the spirit begins passing out of the body dissolution is certain if a change does not set in.

Another fact bears upon this question. It is the unsystematic and unbusinesslike methods of administration in the great majority of the churches. And this in an age of the greatest business keenness and mastery of detail; an age when material prosperity is obtained in nothing except by care and competency, systematic methods, and diligent attention. It is not an overstatement to say that no other enterprise could live a decade in our age, managed as the average church is managed to-day.

A further fact that keeps the world aloof from the churches, and distrustful of them if not bitterly antagonistic toward them, is the evil that exists in their own ranks. For example, their quarrels among themselves and their individual members; the hypocrisy and meanness of some of their members; their failure in general to live up to and exemplify the principles they profess. The churches and church people claim a higher life and better principles than the world and their outside friends possess, and when this great body of outsiders, who make no profession of holiness or superior character and principle, see within the churches people and practises as bad or worse than their own (at least no better than their own in a multitude of cases), they naturally look with distrust upon the whole institution, and entertain but little respect for it, either as sincere or efficient. The churches have done more to kill themselves, especially in the eyes of the outside world, by their quarrels, bigotry, narrowness, and littleness; their hypocritical members, questionable morals and ethics, and various exhibitions of an unchristian spirit than all their enemies have done. One member in a church, who has a character which the outside world cannot respect, or one such church quarrel as we often witness, does the churches more harm than all their good preaching and faithful service can overcome in many years. Of course, the fact of imperfections, of evil, even, in the churches is no argument against religion, or any reason why good and spiritually minded people should condemn the churches and keep away from or out of them; for we expect nothing to be perfect in this world, and very few, if any, live as well as they profess; yet this is the way the world regards this fact, and it works against

the life and prosperity of the churches as they are now conducted.

But doubtless the greatest cause of inefficiency in the churches in their endeavors for the higher life of the world, and the thing that most strongly makes their survival open to question, is *sectarianism*. Under this head we place their selfish rivalry and theological zealousness—a zeal often without wisdom and without Christian charitableness—and their disposition to be more ardent for their dogma than for human welfare at large. This point is well illustrated by a recent instance, and the editorial comment of a religious journal upon it: "Another discordant note of a more local character was heard in the atmosphere of Chicago last week, when, according to newspaper report, over three hundred of the Chicago ministers gathered to organize in the name of their 'Christ' a propaganda in the interest of virtue and civic righteousness, but started out in this propaganda with an effort on the part of some to exclude from organic coöperation the people to whom Jesus and Paul belonged, the representatives of the religion that made them, and from which they and the other disciples and apostles did not willingly withdraw. When these friends of the Chicago pulpit would deliberately exclude from their organization Catholic, Jewish, Unitarian, Universalist and Independent ministers, they give encouragement and sympathy primarily to the bigot, saloon-keeper and gambler. The former is a being more solicitous for his dogma and his 'ism' and salvation from hell fire in the next world than he is for the virtue, peace, honesty, and salvation from hellish deeds and conditions of this world. The last named classes know they have nothing to fear as long as they have to contend with a divided church and distracted workers for righteousness." Divided Christianity wages unsuccessful warfare against united evil, and the forces of ungodliness are not slow to see this weak point of the churches. The establishing of the kingdom of heaven in the earth is a larger and more important matter than building up sectarianism and institutions of theological dogmas. There must be a democracy of the spirit in the churches before there can be a

democracy of practical righteousness in civilization. There is a social as well as an individual salvation, and the life and power of the churches are coming more and more to depend upon their recognition and action upon this truth.

The existence of large numbers of churches, in proportionately small communities, as is often the case, all striving zealously and selfishly and separately to save individual souls by winning them to their own particular creed and membership, while society, in the very midst of which they strive, is honeycombed with degradation, and the uplifting works of common humanity and reform languish in neglect; where the poor starve in garrets or die of disease for lack of care, and crime and corruption flourish in the back streets while a sectarian gospel is preached in elegant churches to thin congregations of well-to-do and bigoted Christians who will not coöperate with their neighbors in works of humanity and social righteousness, presents a spectacle of institutions that are puerile and dying (and that, perhaps, ought to die) so far as a living and needy world is concerned. Or, again, the sight of one of the most prominent churches of a great city becoming the largest landlord in the country and grinding its poor tenants and fighting reform because it would reduce its income, together with the nerveless and flabby attitude of many of the churches toward the great moral questions and issues of the nation, causes the world and the forces of evil to have little regard for the churches' superior morals and business ethics.

But these weaknesses and imperfections of the churches should not lead to a hopeless view of their future, or to a sweeping condemnation of them. For they mean well, and are acting only from a wrong point of view and with a misguided zeal. The churches stand and stand manfully, on the whole, for the things they hold to be the most important in the life of humanity and the welfare of the world. And in doing this they do, in the largest and deepest sense, bear witness to the highest truths and principles of civilization, and stand for the fundamental and permanent things of the kingdom of God. Some, perhaps the larger number, of the noblest and most useful and efficient men

and women of the world have been and are in the ranks of the churches. And though they may have exercised their goodness and power outside the churches to a large extent, the churches have been the foundation of it all, and their influence manifested in the ideals, the faith, and the character of these lives and achievements. And yet, to-day, because of the changed conditions and the facts, difficulties, and symptoms here considered, the churches do not occupy a position in society that renders their survival, as living, potent, and leading forces absolutely certain.

That religion will fail and righteousness die out in the world there is no suggestion and no one believes. But it seems clear the churches have got to change their methods and management, and forge ahead in the world's life or gradually fail and fade; the things they once represented finding expression through other channels. With all that can be said in their support, in the present, and for the future, it practically remains true of many churches, as was said of one centuries ago, "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and thou art dead." It is true that no other institution has so high an ideal as the church, and there is scarcely one that comes so far short of fulfilling its ideal. In general, the survival of anything depends largely upon its fitness, its vitality, its power or utility. It is not too much to say that the churches may not survive if the trend of things does not change and they do not overcome the difficulties above described and renew their drawing power, recognize the social salvation, establish a social conscience and consciousness, and take the leadership in the democracy of the spirit and of humanity for which the world longs, and toward which it is slowly groping its way.

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## AN ACADEMIC CENTER FOR THE NEW EDUCATION.

**N**EW has become a popular adjective. Like most popular persons and things it is much misunderstood. This, in part, explains all popularity.

The Athenians of Paul's time were addicted to the "newness" habit. Not what was true, but what was new, was the inquiry which drew them to the Areopagus. When the Jewish preacher quoted their own poets his speech lost its charm. They had not learned that newness is ever but the orderly evolution of that which has been from of old. Modern "Athenians" have still this lesson to learn. When we come to understand this adjective as a relative term it may lose a little of its charm, but it will gain much in utility.

The term "new" as applied to education, as to most other things, is evolutionary. It means (1) the elimination of obsolete elements; (2) the symmetrization of useful elements; (3) the unification of all the functions of all of the legitimate elements toward a definite purpose. Such a definition of "new" does not make advance any the easier. Athenian curiosity will often tolerate what it conceives to be new at the risk of its supplanting the old. Egyptian hunkerism, however, will ever cry "vandal" when transformation of old into new is attempted.

The first task of the New Education is elimination.

The normal school had a work to do. It was not, however, to make an Ixion wheel upon which to bind each successive generation. Method is a good servant, but a bad master. Science now tells us that there is no such thing as dead matter in nature. The only dead things are man's mechanisms. The contact of life with life is the first essential of progress. Artificial means may sometimes promote such contact. Oftener, however, it prevents it. When the latter happens the mechanism is obsolete and should be eliminated. Whether new mechanism

should take its place or not must be determined by the special circumstances. If it should, the law of mechanical diminution should operate. The ideal is complete elimination of artifice. Until this is possible the minimum of mechanism should be the rule. Wireless telegraphy illustrates this law of progress.

The second task is symmetrization.

When the three "R's" were all there was of educational process this was an easy task. Since the Chinese alphabet itself, much less the English, has not enough characters to represent modern educational functions, symmetry has become almost impossible. This, in part, accounts for schools turning out pupils somewhat as Herodotus tells us the Nile turned out frogs. "One part moveth while the other part is not made, being as yet but plain mud."

System is necessary to symmetry. Simplicity is necessary to system. The New Education must reduce the educational fraction to its lowest terms. It will then be as simple, although of higher value, as it was when the three "R's" ruled. Then will simplicity lead to system. Then will system lead to symmetry. This simplicity can be found only by the enthronement of the three "H's"—Hand, Head, Heart.

The third task is unification.

Everything belonging to the educational process can be classified under one of the "H's." The unity of the three "H's" is obvious. No less obvious may unity of the multifarious educational processes become.

When this comes to pass the Head will no more say to the Hand, "I have no need of thee. Thine own need will wield the hoe and the sword for all." Then will the Head no more say to the Heart, "I have no need of thee. Thine own need will rock the cradle and carry the cross for all."

Then will the Heart no more say to the Hand, "I have no need of thee. Thine own need will lay the hearth and build the altar for all." Then will the Heart no more say to the Head, "I have no need of thee. Neither my creed nor my love-ballad calls for much mind work."

Then will the Hand no more say to the Head, "I have no

need of thee. When thou thinkest it is only to think out for me a new form of servitude." Then will the Hand no more say to the Heart. "I have no need of thee. Thy call is only to command me to still childhood's hunger-cry, or build a new St. Peter's."

An academic center for the New Education has recently been established in and near Chicago. Like all things that are worth while it is not a cataclysmic but an evolutionary fact. I have been requested to give something of its evolution and of the part it promises to bear in the revolution that is to give us the New Education complete; for revolution is but the climacteric pause in evolution that justifies our putting the label "new" on things without incurring the scriptural woe for confusion of opposites.

During the last decade that spirit-voice which ever whispers in the ears of those whose faces are toward the morning, "Behold, I make all things new," seems to have had unusual heed in the educational world. The National Educational Association, through such pedagogic prophets as Parker, Hall, and Beardshear, Samuel-like saying, "Here I am," has shown signs of having heard that voice. Though indistinct, like the "far wind harp," it may have caught the ear of this slow-moving pedagogic leviathan, and the pedagogic waters have been troubled even to the quiet inlets of the district school.

Hall from the standpoint of biology, Parker and Dewy from the standpoint of psychology, and Will, Bemis, Commons and Andrews from the standpoint of sociology, heeding this spirit-voice in old institutions, have been the new wine in old bottles. Washington at Tuskegee, Ala., the McAfees at Parkville, Mo., Tobias at Chicago, the Vroomans at Oxford, England, and later in conjunction with less conspicuous listeners to the spirit-voice, including the writer, at Trenton, Mo., are representatives of the new wine in new bottles.

While not discounting the new educational wine that is in evidence more or less everywhere in the old bottles, our business at present is with new wine in new bottles, or more specific-

ally in a recently expanded new bottle, and how it gets on therein.

The writer spent a decade of his early manhood as a teacher and college president. He was dissatisfied with prevailing educational methods and took up the practice of law. He located in Chicago where he could study life in all its phases to good advantage. While he made briefs and argued cases to keep the family pot boiling, he specialized on the problem of education. He watched the steady growth of sentiment in favor of academic freedom and better educational methods. He saw it express itself in the memorable Buffalo Conference, and in numerous attempts to organize new educational institutions on an up-to-date, rational basis, and had an active part in some of them. When a ten years' free lease of a fine college property at Trenton, Mo., was offered to him three years ago he accepted it. The method of the three "H's" was adopted. To the new biology and psychology emphasized by other institutions in the direction of the New Education the new school added the new sociology. A faculty containing the names of several educators of advanced views and national reputation was announced. The school opened Sept. 3, 1900, under the name of Avalon College, with only fifteen students present. Provision had been made for students to earn most of their expenses without interference with their studies. Few believed this possible. Confidence increased, however, and by the last of the month the attendance in all departments numbered sixty. Sympathizers in all parts of the United States who were watching the experiment now began to make preparations for locating at Trenton, and making investments in the college industries on a coöperative basis.

Walter Vrooman, arriving at this time from England, fresh from a remarkable achievement made by Mrs. Vrooman and himself in the line of the New Education at Oxford, known as Ruskin Hall, became identified with the institution. The name was changed to Ruskin College and the English and American institutions were affiliated. The general plans for operating the college remained the same, but the provisions for financial support were somewhat modified. Mr. and Mrs. Vrooman pro-

vided most of the necessary industrial equipment. While some of the friends of the institution from distant points located at Trenton and became interested in the college industries on a coöperative basis, this feature of the general plan was not continued.

Metropolitan dailies gave whole pages of illustrated free write-ups to the institution, and leading magazines published breezy articles about it. The attendance increased until it reached an annual enrollment of 360, representing thirty states, three territories, and three foreign countries. Factories costing some \$15,000 and a farm of 1,500 acres, afterwards increased to 2,000 acres, supporting a fifty herd dairy and other agricultural specialties, besides a laundry, sewing department, printing office, and the necessary culinary commissariat were provided for the employment of student labor. The industrial department, notwithstanding necessarily imperfect organization, grew continually in popularity. From twenty per cent. of non-resident students earning their way in part the first year, it increased to eighty per cent. in the third year.

By the second term of the third year a \$7,000 dairy barn was being built, and other farm improvements were being made on the Vrooman farm with a view to increasing the facilities for the employment of student labor, as the attendance was fast outgrowing the capacity of the industrial department. More buildings for dormitories and minor industries became necessary, and plans were made for merging the lease into title in fee and putting up two new buildings. To carry out these plans it was necessary that \$50,000 be secured in donations. The writer started eastward in November last expecting to join Mr. and Mrs. Walter Vrooman in New York City, in an effort to enlist the coöperation of such people of means as are coming to look with favor upon the New Education as it is represented by Ruskin College. He got no farther than Chicago. He found there such an intense sentiment for the New Education in all of its phases that it was unnecessary to go farther. This sentiment had taken tangible form in 1901 by the incorporation of Midland University, which consisted of a federation of Steiman

College, of Dixon, Illinois; the Chicago Law School, Hering Medical College, Balatka Musical College, the Phillips School of Oratory, the Turck Baker School of Correct English, the Union Telegraph College, and the Chicago Seminary of Sciences. These established institutions, with successful records of from five to twenty years and all self supporting, were coördinated by Dr. J. J. Tobias. They were maintaining a successful alliance and seeking ways and means for a complete amalgamation, with a common academic center where the ideals of the New Education which had brought them into coöperative relationship could be wrought out. Ruskin College and Ruskin Business College were invited into this federation. Their acceptance solved the problem of complete amalgamation of these institutions and the establishment of an academic center.

The statement of purpose given in the Ruskin College catalogue of 1903 was adopted in the agreement of amalgamation, as were also its liberal elective courses of study. Ruskin University became the name of the amalgamation, and Glen Ellyn, west thirty-three minutes from the Chicago depots, was chosen as the academic center. The professional and technical schools will continue their principal work in Chicago, and Steiman College, at Dixon, fifty miles farther west, will continue for the present, as the north department of the University. But here at Glen Ellyn, in a beautiful modern building costing \$100,000, and furnished at a cost of about \$25,000, on a spring-fed lake which has been re-christened Lake Ruskin, the academic work of the University began April 23d, on the arrival of the faculty and student body of Ruskin College, with only such diminution as is incident to such removals. The 110 acre tract of hilly woodland, glen, and lake is unsurpassed in picturesqueness by anything short of mountain scenery, which it much resembles, being nearly 300 feet above the level of Chicago. The Apollo Spring, which has supplied city customers with pure water to the extent of \$2,000 worth per month, and five mineral springs of high medical value, all under a single ornamental pavilion, add much to the value and attractiveness of the site.

The American X-ray College and the Art Craft Institute,



both of Chicago, have recently been affiliated. This makes a combination of twelve schools and colleges with an aggregate annual enrollment of 2,500 resident and 8,000 correspondent students, and a faculty of 250 professors and instructors. Ruskin Hall, Oxford, England, with its 3,500 resident and correspondence students, is affiliated with the University, but not included in the above enumeration.

J. J. Tobias, LL.D., Ph.D., formerly Chancellor of Midland University, is the Chancellor of the new University, having charge of administrative affairs of all the component institutions, while the writer, as Dean, has charge of the academic matters of all departments. Henry D. Lloyd, Prof. Frank Parsons, Hon. Geo. H. Shibly, Hon. Geo. F. Washburn, and B. O. Flower become members of the Academic Senate on behalf of the interests formerly represented by Ruskin College, while such distinguished citizens as United States Senator Cullom, Justice John P. Hand, of the Supreme Court of Illinois; Judge Tuthill, of the Circuit Court, Chicago; J. S. Smith, president Indiana Natural Gas Co., and O. B. Dodge, president Grand Detour Plow Co., remain on behalf of the interests formerly represented by Midland University.

But neither genesis nor geography matters much with either individuals or institutions, except as they affect character. Character is all that counts.

Ruskin University stands for the New Education. In no way can this be made to appear better than by giving the program by which it tries to practise its three essential features.

I. ELIMINATION is practiced by making the text book a mere incident, and in cases where it proves a non-conductor it is barred altogether. Whenever it is possible the student is brought into contact with the thing studied instead of a stale text book tale about the thing. The industrial department aids greatly in this. The mummied tongues are not barred. They are not permitted, however, to obstruct the living tongues. When they are studied and taught the life which wore the body of the mummied tongue is the thing studied, rather than the wrappings or the dessicated flesh and bones.

In the academic work no class fences are built. The courses are elective. No student can be located as to distance from graduation by means of the text books or class rushes. The student who is one term from the end of his course may recite with the one who is but one term from the beginning to the advantage of both. As to government there is supervision, but police machinery is nowhere in evidence. It is a democracy. While the faculty holds all executive and judicial power, except when the referendum is brought into use, the legislative body is composed of the faculty and eligible students. The efficiency of this scheme was fully demonstrated during the third year in Ruskin College.

II. SYMMETRIZATION is practiced by treating the three "H's" as of equal importance. But are there not grades in the three "H's?" Is not the Head above the Hand and is not the Heart above all? Thought is not thought until it has used the motor nerves as a distillery to transform its vapor vision into firm fact. Love is not love until it has used the motor muscles as its electric wire system to transmit its message.

The industrial department, therefore, including a printing office, a laundry, kitchen and dining room, water-shipping plant, gardening on a city market scale, all of which are in operation, with a number of factories (among which are a shoe factory and one for making household specialties) in process of development, are not matters for the Hand only.

Sixty-five thousand dollars was pledged at the last meeting of the Board of Administration to be forthcoming as fast as needed for developing and maintaining these industries in which students are permitted to earn their board and lodging by working twenty-five hours per week, their compensation coming in part as a moderate wage and in part as profits on the coöperative basis. But this is no more an investment for the Hand than for the Heart. Ruskin declares that moral character is impossible without manual labor, and Ruskin University believes it, not because Ruskin said it, but because experience proves it. It is no more an investment for the Hand and Heart than for the Head. Ruskin says, "Wholesome human employment is

the first and best method in all education, mental as well as bodily," and Ruskin University believes it; not because Ruskin said it, nor even because a greater than Ruskin said, in substance, "Do that ye may know;" but because experience proves it.

A sanitarium to cost \$150,000 is to be erected on a promontory of the University grounds, near enough to the mineral springs to utilize their healing waters and their mineralized mud and to furnish labor for students. This institution is to be under the direction of Dr. E. S. Pettyjohn, one of the most successful sanitarium managers in the United States, with a decade of successful experience in this line to his credit and five thousand physicians at his back. It is to be the central institution for the Ruskin Sanitarium System which is to have affiliated sanitariums in the East, South, and West. The net earnings of this sanitarium are to go into the University treasury, and the work which it requires is to be done by students who will learn how to be well and get well and keep well and to help others to do the same, earning wages at the same time. But this is no more an affair of the Hand than of the Head and Heart. One of the motives of the University is, "Learn to live rather than live to learn," and it recognizes that the problem of life involves all of the three "H's."

A University real estate company is putting on the market a beautiful subdivision near the University, so that all who want homes near our Academic Center may have them at reasonable prices. In this also the three "H's" dominate, as all of the net profits go to the University to advance its work.

All of the methods used in the past for developing the powers of the three "H's" that have not become obsolete, are in evidence in their work clothes—no dress parades permitted. No hobbies are harbored. If the Hand is urged with more vigor than the other two "H's," it is only because it has been neglected and left behind in former educational effort, and should be helped to catch up. If the Art Craft Institute, which doubles the wages of art craft workers by a three months' course, and which is the last to enter the Ruskin amalgamation becomes a

verification of the proverbial transposition of "first" and "last," as it promises to do, it will only be a recognition of Ruskin aphorism, "Life without labor is crime; and labor without art is brutish."

III. UNIFICATION is practiced by ignoring in all the work of the University all alleged scientific fences between the material and spiritual, all theological fences between sacred and secular, all sociological fences between aristocrat and democrat, and the thousand and one artificial fences, many of them double, with devil's lanes between, which have divided and subdivided body, soul, and spirit, physical, mental, and moral, classes and masses, into separate cages like so many wild beasts in a menagerie, destroying the unity of life and reducing it to mere being.

This law of unification, as well as the law of symmetrization, may seem to be violated because of the apparent excess of emphasis which the University lays upon sociology. This apparent partiality is explained in the same way as the apparent excess of emphasis upon the Hand as compared with the other two "H's." Emphasis upon sociology is due because of its ages of neglect and because it is necessary to symmetry and unity that it be strongly emphasized. In no other way can the necessary equilibrium be realized. But there is another and stronger reason for this emphasis which can not be better expressed than in the words of Drummond in his "Ascent of Man:"

"One-sided induction has led sociology into a wilderness of empiricism, and only a complete induction can reinstate it among the sciences. The vacant place is there waiting it; and every earnest mind is prepared to welcome it, not only as the coming science, but as the crowning science of all sciences. The Science, indeed, for which it will one day be seen every other science exists."

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## THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

THE evident tendency of the United States Government at present is to permit the individual States to settle the race question to suit themselves. To many who hold extreme moral and religious views this course will appear to be almost criminal. But, if we examine the matter calmly in all its phases, we shall be led to the inevitable conclusion that this is the only way in which the question can or will be settled.

The race problem is more than a political issue. It is an organic social ailment. No mere political rights, granted through the forms of law to the negro race, can insure its permanent welfare. The rights of citizenship already conferred upon that race as the outcome of overwrought ideals of abstract justice and of religious duty, promulgated without regard to the qualifications and conditions of the negro himself, have resulted, so far as concerns the object had in view, in a series of fatal blunders.

Prior to the year 1861 the Abolitionists kept up a continual agitation. The Democrats misjudged the designs of the Republican party. The result was war—a war carried on, not, as is sometimes intimated in campaign speeches, for the purpose of liberating the slaves, but, as is well known by those who are acquainted with the facts, for the sole purpose of preserving the Union of the United States. Had the Confederates laid down their arms within the hundred days allowed them by President Lincoln they would probably have their slaves to-day. The freedom of the slaves was not the avowed purpose of either of the contending parties to the Civil War, but was simply one of the events of the war, like the killing of a man or the burning of a city, or like any other act done for the sole purpose of weakening the enemy. The negro, though he might now

call himself a freeman, suddenly found himself set down in the midst of his former owners who were now his enemies, with no one under obligation to support him, and without means or experience to take care of himself.

The slave having been relieved from the shackles of bondage it was thought to be a great stroke of justice to confer upon him the rights of suffrage. No greater error could have been committed. There is no satisfactory reason why an ignorant and degraded white man should be allowed to vote. The only reason to be given is one of necessity, growing out of the fact that the ignorant are numerous and have physical force. But when the ballot was placed in the hands of the negro, a being of a different race and of low intelligence, he was given the means not only to hurt himself by intensifying the prejudices which the white man already entertained against him, but also to greatly embarrass the government with unavoidable opportunities for fraud and corruption. Nothing generates as much prejudice against the negro as his right to vote, a right which he knows not how to exercise, and nothing would give him more relief than to lose possession of that right.

The negro is still a slave, without the protection of a slave. His qualifications and conditions make him such; nor can he be bolstered into a higher rank of society by mere artificial schemes and political resolutions. Individual exceptions there may be, due to abnormal encouragement and to unusual opportunities. But there is no evidence that any race can be made to occupy a higher plane than is consistent with that race's own natural susceptibilities and capacity for efficient effort. There is nothing to indicate that the African race has the elements necessary to contend with the Anglo-Saxon in the struggle for life. What nature might do for the negro in some thousands of years the present writer does not pretend to say. But will American progress wait some thousands of years to see into what the negro will develop?

The greater portion of the negro population is to be found in the Southern States. In those States are large boundaries of uncultivated land. There are numerous waste fields and



wide stretches of woodland. In those out-of-the-way places the negro delights to build his hut. There he dwells with his wife and children, surrounded by his little patch of tobacco and garden vegetables. He works by jobs, he hunts the "possum," he fishes, and he loafs. And this constitutes his ideal of life. Living in a mild climate he needs little clothing, and is satisfied with the cast-off garments of the well-to-do whites. He cares not for the Government. In fact, he knows little about it, and would prefer his present situation to any which his over-zealous political friends in the past might have contrived for him.

How long this state of affairs may last it is impossible to say. This is an age of great enterprise and commercial activity. The public lands in the West are growing less every year, and they are fast being limited to undesirable localities, while the South has a delightful climate, and is rich in soil and in the variety of its natural resources. So it may be considered as only a question of time when commerce and immigration will enter the Southern States and demand the occupancy and cultivation of the immense areas of untilled land in that region.

What then will become of the negro, his hut, and his tobacco patch? He will be told to move. He will suddenly find it necessary to own his own home or to pay rent. His privileges of trespass will be curtailed, and the woods, the streams, and the now permitted pickings from the homes of the whites will cease to furnish a large portion of his means of support. In short, it will become necessary for him to abandon the habits of all his past life, and to become the active competitor of the laboring white man in order to secure the means of daily subsistence.

Then will begin the battle for life. In that conflict there can be no doubt that the negro will be defeated. His existence may be prolonged by consigning him to services which the white man will not or cannot perform; but this will, in effect, by limiting the avenues to success, amount to nothing more than slavery. The negroes in cities constitute the menials, back-alley residents, and the uncertain element in political campaigns. No help can be expected from them in the elevation of their race.

The vital point seems to be that the racial characteristics of the negro, as the characteristics of the Indian and of many barbarous peoples, are natural obstacles in the way of the highest human progress. A race that cannot rise as fast as the needs of advancing civilization requires must get off the stage of life. Nature is solving the problem; and it might not be too much to say that the tightening of the lines of power in all parts of the earth indicates that a great world tragedy, the extinction of a race, is about to be performed.

The moral phases of the question throw no light on the solution of this problem. There are certain rules of right and justice which every one is supposed to observe in his daily relations with others. But moral systems soon manifest their insufficiency for the practical affairs of life. They disappear as fashions. It is absurd to say that we are to be blamed for enslaving the negro in America, and that it is, accordingly, our duty to hold him up and to promote his future prosperity. The present generation of whites are no more to be blamed for the system of slavery in the United States than the writer of this article is to be blamed if his grandfather beat his grandmother. Besides, at the time the African was enslaved, Nature had fitted him for nothing else than a slave or a cannibal.

The object of this article is not to advocate or condemn any moral movement, nor to contend that everything should not be done that will enable the negro to make of himself as good a citizen as he is willing to make. The present writer is simply holding forth the view that nothing can or will be done sufficient to protect him from extinction as a race. We tell our neighbor, of our own blood, that he must look to his own efforts for success in life. Will not the same be required of the negro?

But when the efforts of the negro to obtain a livelihood begin to affect seriously the white man's pocket or his dinner pail, let no one imagine that a bloody strife will not ensue. There exists between the races an inbred antagonism which no moral lectures can eradicate. In different places public lynchings of the negro have occurred, witnessed by crowds of consenting white citizens. To be sure, such proceedings have been criti-

cized, but they would not have been permitted had the victims been white men.

Those who talk loudest for the negro's welfare are usually persons who are zealous over an abstract idea which can not be put into practical effect. In fact, the only showing the blacks can have for prolonged existence in this country is in the South among those who know him. Doubtless one of the speediest ways to annihilate the negro population in the United States would be to move them all to the North. The white Southerner is rather slack in his methods. He likes to saunter through life and have as easy a time as possible, and he is not particularly vexed when others do likewise. The North would require the negro to conform to the methods of the North, all of which would appear to him strange and distasteful. If he should fail in this he would be ignored, and branded as a worthless wretch.

The few who have been favored in institutions of learning, supported by endowment funds, have little bearing on the case. In a final conflict between races, nearly every one will stand by his own race. All the conditions point to such a conflict, sooner or later, between the white and black races in the United States. It may be that slow struggle by which nature often brings about her "survival of the fittest," or it may be hastened by sudden outbreaks, such as a certain negro attorney, J. H. Hays, is reported to have lately advised at Richmond, Virginia.

In any event, the African in this country is confined to the South, and, as a race, he must, as every other race, work out his own destiny in the conflict of life. This may appear to be a gloomy forecast; but it is Nature's law. The only question is how long can the conflict between the races be postponed.

If the foregoing views are true, the general government may be excusable in permitting the people of the several States to take their own course on that most potent cause of friction that now exists, the negro's right of suffrage. It will appear all the more excusable if we consider the difficulty of providing a remedy.

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*Hyden, Ky.*

## THE STORY OF A VICTORIOUS SOCIAL EXPERIMENT.

PERHAPS it is not strange that at the present time, when low materialistic ideals are so prevalent in political councils and when the greed for gold seems to be exerting an hypnotic influence over the imagination, social reformers and men and women of conscience and conviction are at times overtaken by a great sadness born of doubt. And yet those who temporarily lose faith in the essential power and divinity of truth forget that all over the civilized world to-day as never before, not only are the true apostles of the moral verities giving the best that lies in them to the service of humanity, but millions upon millions of the poor are thinking and dreaming, as at no other period in the world's history, of social justice.

The noble discontent which permeates civilization to-day is entirely unlike the blind and thoughtless unrest which has expressed itself in popular outbreaks of volcanic-like rage from time to time in various parts of the world. The discontent of the present is the sign manual of general growth. It is born of reason rendered possible by the diffusion of education and the demands of the larger life of our age. Nor is this all. In spite of much practical infidelity and subserviency to wealth tainted by corruption and injustice which marks too many clergymen and churches to-day, there still remains a great number of sincere apostles of truth as taught by the great Galilean who are busily engaged in leavening with love the lives of the multitudes who exist in the dark and cruel world of poverty.

One striking example of this character, which is in a real way typical of much quiet, unostentatious work being carried forward in the great centers of civilization, is found in the labors

of the Robert Browning Settlement, in the Walworth district of London. So helpfully suggestive is the record of practical achievements carried out by this body of conscience-guided men and women that a brief description of its work cannot fail to be interesting to our readers.

Eight years ago Mr. F. Herbert Stead, a son of the eminent journalist, together with his wife and a few high-minded Christians who had imbibed the spirit of Jesus to such a decree that they could no longer enjoy egoistic life, founded the Robert Browning Settlement in the very heart of darkest London, selecting the center of that gloomy hive of labor's children known as Walworth, where life is more congested than in any other spot in the city—a fact which will be appreciated when it is known that in the square mile which surrounds the settlement of which we are writing more than 120,000 human beings exist.

Walworth has been described as "a mass of brick and smoke, dirty and dusky, the very poorest district of the vast metropolis." This district at night was for the most part dark and gloomy, save where saloons and evil resorts shone like *ignes fatui*, luring the poor from their cheerless quarters. Here the atmosphere of despair was felt on every hand. Poverty and misery jostled with vice and crime, and into this ocean of human wretchedness and sin were constantly being wafted a multitude of innocent lives, frightfully handicapped at birth and with an environment that could not fail to accentuate the worst and discourage the best impulses and tendencies in their natures.

The old Independent Chapel in York Street was selected as headquarters for the settlement. In the old days when Walworth was a wealthy suburb of London, Robert Browning's father and mother were prominent among the workers in this chapel, and here it was that the great poet was baptized.

Young Mr. Stead and his companions believed that one of the most important battles for civilization must be fought in the slums; that the Dead Sea of poverty and misery so long abandoned to the saloons, the brothels and other evil influences, must be brought under the compelling power of the best in life; that the spirit of Jesus, not that of dogmatic theology, must be

felt in the midst of the slums; that the darkness must be dispelled by light, and that they who sought to be the light-bearers must consecrate all, even as Jesus consecrated his whole existence to humanity. Glorious, indeed, was the ideal that lured on these servants of progress. But at first the people looked askance at them. They had wearied of churchmen. The hollow, mocking, self-righteous, and pharisaic conventional theology had almost driven them to atheism. They wanted no more sleek, well-fed parsons telling them how they should act, or unco' good philanthropists who condescended to speak to them as superior beings addressing an inferior order. When, however, it was found that the newcomers were friends, neighbors and companions rather than preachers and patronizers of the less fortunate ones, a marvelous change was experienced. The people came to love, trust and look to the workers as children look to elder companions on whose sympathy they can count and on whose wisdom they can rely.

Thus, though these true-hearted reformers at first encountered great disappointments, trials, and almost insurmountable obstacles, at length the tide turned. The settlement became the moral and intellectual center of Walworth. Its work everywhere challenged respect, and in most places indifference or open hostility was changed to appreciation. Nor is this strange, for the work from first to last has been not only free from cant, but it has been characterized in a preëminent degree by practical wisdom, a broad humanitarian spirit, and a comprehension of the larger demands of present-day social life which speaks of the highest order of statesmanship. Life has been helpfully touched at every point.

The systematic work outlined by the founders may be, broadly speaking, grouped under four principal heads: (1) Labor for the betterment of the community as a whole. (2) Efforts to improve the individual by broadening his moral and mental horizon, developing character, and increasing the means for the enjoyment of life. (3) Aid for the helpless, including the sick, the crippled, the aged, victims of injustice, and little children. (4) Elevation of civic life.



Eight years of toil have wrought a transformation that may well prove an inspiration to those who at times almost despair in the presence of that greatest shame of civilization—the ever-broadening slums of the great metropolitan centers—as will be seen by a brief and partial summary of assured results:

(1) *Labor for the improvement of the condition of the community as a whole:* When the settlement was opened the adjacent streets were dark and cheerless at night. This condition was changed by the introduction of lanterns and cheerful outdoor music. Back of the settlement buildings was an old, long-unused burying ground, stark and forlorn. This was speedily transformed into a charming miniature park, with beautiful flowers and ornamental shrubs. So marked has been the transformation that it is now called the brightest spot in Walworth.

Next a movement was inaugurated looking toward changing the bleak, barren, and hideous back yards of the workingmen into bright oases of emerald, decked with flowers, ornamental shrubs, and vines. Nothing is more cheerless or forbidding than the back yards in the poorer quarters of a city. They are as a rule innocent alike of grass or flowers. But these yards, with the aid of a little fertilizer, a few seeds, and instructions as to how to plant and cultivate, can in most cases be transformed into beautiful, restful, and attractive spots that will yield infinite pleasure and satisfaction to the owners. This important work, which next engaged the attention of the settlement workers, was so successfully undertaken that there are now scores of homes where creeping vines, shrubs, flowers, and vegetables have entirely changed the aspect of back yards that hitherto have been bare, unsanitary, and unsightly. Exhibitions are now given at intervals in which only flowers, fruits and vegetables grown in this hitherto barren center of life are to be seen. And the settlement has further stimulated the rapidly growing taste in this direction by opening a large greenhouse in the Browning Garden.

The long winter evenings are brightened by concerts every Saturday night, lantern lectures held at short intervals, and social gatherings which meet in the halls of the settlement.

Another practical labor that has resulted in much good has been the bringing together of families in adjacent districts and on the same street. This work has been much fostered by the appointment of persons to work in different sections, known as "street friends." By bringing families together and cultivating neighborliness the social spirit is awakened and little gatherings of neighbors become circles of friends, thus subtly but effectively enriching life that under present social conditions is all too barren.

One year ago this month a large club house for men was opened, which is operated in connection with a tavern where an abundance of good food and temperance drinks can be obtained at very reasonable prices. This club house and tavern have proved so popular that from the opening they have paid their expenses. The club house contains a large hall for meetings and various rooms especially fitted up for social comfort and enjoyment.

(2) *Efforts to improve the individual by broadening his moral and mental horizon and increasing his happiness:* The general program, including concerts, social entertainments, lantern lectures, and Sunday talks on vital, living, present-day themes, is well calculated to broaden the moral and mental vision and enrich the life of the individual, as well as improve the community as a whole; but there are numerous other efforts being resolutely put forth to develop the character, feed the imagination, and bring new life and joy to the individual. Thus, for example, there are Travel Clubs, by means of which the poor are able to visit expositions or points of interest at a distance and in foreign lands for very nominal cost. In 1901 through this Travel Club a party of forty-eight was able to visit the Glasgow Exhibition and spend nine days in Scotland. The expense to each person for railway fare, board, and lodging was a little less than ten dollars. Last year, through the agency of this club, seventy-four persons were able to visit Germany and attend the exhibition at Düsseldorf. Who can measure the educational value of such visits upon minds that have rarely been privileged to go beyond the outskirts of London? And what a

feast for the imagination, what an intellectual stimulus to the travellers and also to their friends and neighbors, to whom the wonder-stories of their visits have been many times related!

Again, every year over one thousand men, women and children are sent out into the country, where they are brought for a time near to the pulsing heart of nature. The rest, the pure oxygen, and the change of scene experienced at such times not only give renewed physical vigor, but they serve to rest and feed the imagination, so that for months the vision of the other world—the world beyond the gates of the great city, with its emerald mantle starred with gold and studded with floral jewels—is a source of healthful delight. There are also bicycle clubs and numerous other measures for giving pleasure and affording development to body, mind and soul.

(3) *Aid for the helpless:* From the little ones to the aged, the helpless are looked after. There is a maternity club and a clothing club. Special attention is given to crippled children. Every week there are at least one hundred of these unfortunates gathered into a hall of the settlement, known as the Cripples' Parlor, where they have a rare treat, with entertainments and pastimes.

For the destitute aged an opening has been made by the donation by Miss Isabel Faraday, the niece of the great chemist, of a ten-room house known as the Michael Faraday Home.

There is a Medical Mission under the superintendence of Dr. G. W. Richards, and during the year there are about two thousand visits to homes and between four and five thousand cases treated at the dispensary.

Then there are the lawyers for the poor, whose services are rendered to about one thousand persons annually who are in trouble. Through the aid of these lawyers numbers of cases are kept out of court, and in other instances the poor are able to enjoy the benefits of legal talent to secure the justice which might otherwise be denied them.

(4) *Elevation of civic life:* Perhaps the line of work which will prove of the greatest importance is the vigorous, intelligent, and persistent effort to raise the standard of civic life and

secure for the people, from vestrymen to councillors, mayors to national officers, men possessing the double merits of being of sturdy moral integrity and possessing ideals in alignment with the highest social concepts of the time. A committee of members of the settlement, as soon as nominations are made, carefully inspects the list and acquaints itself with the character and ideals of the nominees, after which a statement of the record, standing, and views of the candidates is presented to all the voters, who are urged to consider how Jesus would vote if he were a carpenter in Walworth to-day, and to then let their own conscience answer. No special party is championed by the settlement, but men of character and whose views in regard to the elevation of municipal life are in accord with the best spirit of the times are favored. The result of this course has been most satisfactory. A marked elevation in the character of public servants is noted, and through the earnest and intelligent efforts of Mr. Tom Bryan, who was first a vestryman, then a health officer, and at present is the mayor of the borough, and of other spirits similarly infused with the ideals of the Browning Settlement, the sanitary conditions of the district have been greatly improved, and spots that were death-germinating and plague-inviting centers have been renovated, drained, and rendered healthful. There are to-day five representatives to the council of the borough who are members of the Browning Settlement.

The present Mayor Bryan, formerly a laboring man but later a university graduate, is a fine type of the new statesmanship being fostered by the Browning Settlement. When Mr. Bryan was nominated for the office of mayor, friends asked him how he could meet the expenses that were supposed to be necessary for any one holding that position. "By not incurring them," was his epigrammatic reply. Later, after his election, when the question of voting him a salary was broached, he stated that if a salary was given him he would apply every penny of it for the aid of the very poor and needy ones of the borough. Mr. Bryan represents the type of men whose brains are aflame with love for humanity and moral enthusiasm, that the Browning

Settlement is pushing forward into public life, to the immense benefit of the community. The settlement has also become the propaganda center for the movement for old age pensions and the better housing of the poor in the great cities.

In this brief and very incomplete record of eight years of conscientious labor we see something of what may be accomplished by small groups of men and women, who, with the splendid spirit of the early Christian leaders, have consecrated their lives to the cause of life's unfortunates.

Doubtless some social reformers will say, as we have heard them frequently remark in reference to our work in the slums of Boston, "And what does it all amount to? What is the use of spending time on these half-way, palliative measures?" There are two things to be said in reply to these oft-reiterated utterances of radical social reformers. The first is that there will be no ideal reign of justice, freedom, and fraternity on earth until the advance guard among social reformers who are struggling for a better order are so filled with moral enthusiasm, or that love that goes forth to every child of the Infinite, that it is impossible to remain indifferent to the sufferings of the weakest and most obscure. All social movements that ignore human misery here and now, that turn aside from the individual cases and concentrate attention merely on abstract social programs, run the risk of ending in egoistic and class movements such as marked the ascendancy of the bourgeois class after the great revolutions of the eighteenth century. There must be present in the hearts and lives of the leaders of social reform that spiritual enthusiasm which renders it impossible for a man journeying from the Jericho of the present to the Jerusalem of social salvation to regard with indifference or to pass by on the other side the unfortunate victims of modern social injustice. No! They who are to give humanity any real and lasting social salvation must be so overmastered by love that while preaching and working for the advent of the new democracy and for the reign of justice and fraternity, they will also be bending every effort to save those who now and here have fallen under the wheel. And secondly, the work that is being

wrought by such movements as the Browning Settlement is of incalculable value to permanent social progress. It is in effect a preparatory education for thousands and tens of thousands of poor people, through which they are being made intelligent factors for a peaceable evolutionary social revolution; while without this kind of work they might easily, in a time of great depression and suffering, become a blind, unreasoning force retarding social progress, as did the same element when it gained ascendancy and changed the current of the French Revolution, making it a reasonless Reign of Terror.

This is a point too little appreciated by the friends of social progress everywhere. As a matter of fact the leaders of the Browning Settlement and other like centers of practical and progressive economic activity are serving to lead the slow-thinking and over-worked poor into the light of social justice by the majesty of truth glorified by love. And out of the ranks of those who are being thus socially redeemed and enlightened will come—will surely come—great leaders who will be veritable prophets of progress and apostles of social righteousness. No good work is ever lost, and least of all is such work as is being carried on in such soil as is found in Walworth.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*



## THE PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR MAJORITY RULE.

THE contest for the overthrow of the rule of the few in this country is drawing to a climax. In the Legislature of at least eighteen States a contest has been waged, or is still being waged, for the submission of a constitutional amendment for majority rule—the addition to our representative system of a people's veto through the optional referendum, and a direct initiative by petition or by pasters attached to the official ballot at any election.

In twelve of these States the campaign has been actively conducted by organized labor and other non-partisan organizations. These States are Massachusetts, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Texas, California, Washington, Montana, Michigan, Rhode Island, and New York. The Grange took an active part in securing the system in Oregon, and has questioned candidates in Washington. The State Granges in Illinois and Rhode Island have declared for the system, and their legislative committees instructed to work with the legislators. In Massachusetts thirty-eight of the county and local Granges have petitioned the Legislature.

The other six States where the Legislatures have been considering the adoption of an amendment for an improved system of representative government are Maine, Michigan, North Dakota, Nebraska, Idaho, and Nevada.

The Missouri Legislature, after a long and hard battle by organized labor, the Missouri Direct Legislation League, and the National Federation for Majority Rule, has submitted to the people a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative. The provisions are that the direct initiative is to apply to the State constitution, statute law, and municipal regulations. The people's veto through the optional referendum is to

apply to all bills passed by the Legislature, except urgency measures, the usual appropriation acts, and bills where there is a two-thirds vote; also to ordinances passed by common councils and other municipal bodies. Missouri is the fifth State to vote on the adoption of a people's veto and a direct initiative. The vote will be taken at the next general election—November, 1904.

The first State in this country to adopt the system was South Dakota, in 1898, the popular vote being about three to two in favor of the reform. Two years later the people of Utah adopted the system by a larger majority, nearly two to one. The third State was Oregon, and the vote, taken last June, was eleven to one for the system—practically unanimous. Illinois is the fourth State. The question was voted upon last November, under a statute which empowers the voters of the State to ballot upon any question of public policy when petitioned for by ten cent. of their number. The question was, "Shall the Legislature submit a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative?" The vote was five to one in the affirmative, and in some of the counties as high as twelve to one. There was not much campaigning.

In Missouri, the fifth State to vote upon the adoption of majority rule, the Senate voted unanimously to submit the question, while in the House the only opposition was by the Republicans, who declared that the amendment makes it too difficult to use the people's veto and direct initiative. However, the labor leaders and the Direct Legislation League will accept the amendment, and will then use the direct initiative for striking out the excessive requirements. Without doubt the vote of the people on the adoption of the system as submitted will be practically unanimous.

The history, then, of these five States shows that in the West and central West the sentiment for an improvement in the representative system, by adding a people's veto and a direct initiative, is rapidly becoming unanimous. The time is ripe for a widespread campaign as to Congressmen and Senators. Already quite a number of the Congressmen are pledged to rules

of procedure for the optional referendum and direct initiative, and it has been found easier to pledge Congressmen than members of the Legislature.

In Massachusetts, Michigan, and New York, legislative action is pending at this writing. There is, however, little or no prospect of anything being done in New York at this session.

In Illinois, where the people by a five to one vote instructed their representatives to submit a constitutional amendment for a people's veto and direct initiative, there is, as yet, little indication that the instruction will be obeyed. Legislators are no longer the representatives of the people. In Utah two Legislatures have refused to enact a statute for putting into effect a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative, and the Chicago common council has disobeyed an instruction by the people for the referendum and municipal ownership.

The Legislatures which thus far have refused to let the people ballot upon a change in the legislative system of the State by adding a people's veto and direct initiative, are those of Colorado, Texas, Kansas, California, Washington, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, and Rhode Island.

One of the first to reach this decision was the Idaho Legislature. Two years ago an amendment was newly submitted, but in the last campaign there was no questioning of candidates, as in Missouri, and the monopolists won in the House by a close vote—22 to 19, three not voting. Those who killed the resolution were all Republicans, while of those who voted for the resolution nine were Republicans and ten were Democrats.

In Montana neither the Democratic or Republican party would place in their platform a pledge to allow the people a vote upon the adoption of majority rule. Organized labor, however, questioned the candidates, and afterward stirred the entire State. From seven to fifteen petitions were read daily in the Legislature for twenty days preceding the vote. The result was that *the decision of both the State conventions was reversed*. With two-thirds of the Legislature Republican, a resolution to permit the people a vote upon a constitutional amendment for majority rule *passed the House without open opposi-*

tion, and received in the Senate more than a majority, lacking, however, the necessary two-thirds—the vote of nine Senators being sufficient to defeat the measure. First, however, the great corporations “doctored” the amendment by requiring that the percentage of signatures must be secured in a majority of the counties. And the first resolution introduced could not be gotten out of committee, so two more were introduced. The Democratic Governor recommended in his message the submission of the amendment, and afterward was not permitted to go, even as a delegate, to the State convention.

Last summer there was organized the North Dakota Referendum League, which questioned candidates and supplied the press with referendum material. The Democrats placed in their platform a demand for a constitutional amendment, and a bill for the same passed the Senate by a vote of twenty to fifteen. In the House it received forty-nine votes as against forty-eight—lacking the necessary two-thirds. The failure was largely due to the fact that it was reported that the movement for a direct initiative was for resubmission of the Prohibition amendment. Of the hearing in committee Mrs. Katharine V. King, founder of the League, says:

“I argued along the line of truest conservatism; that soon a radical party will do something violently prejudicial to vested interests, unless there is a system whereby the people can make their will effective at the ballot box. Majorities are proverbially conservative.”

In Rhode Island there was no questioning of candidates. Governor Garvin, a Democrat, strongly recommended a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative, but the Senate killed the resolution by a vote of twenty-three to nine, with six absentees.

When the People's Party was in power in Kansas it worked for a constitutional amendment for majority rule, and nearly succeeded in getting the necessary two-thirds vote. Last year organized labor formed the Kansas Non-Partisan Federation for Majority Rule and questioned candidates, but, as there was insufficient time to interest the farmers, and all the Senate held

over, the resolution for the referendum and initiative was easily defeated.

For some years the people in the State of Washington have favored the referendum and initiative. Last year the Grange questioned candidates and introduced in the Legislature a constitutional amendment. "But," says a prominent Grange official, "we have no hopes whatever of securing its passage at this session. The railroad has this Legislature solid, and nothing of this nature will be allowed to pass. The Representative who introduced our resolution, writes 'Former Legislatures were calla lilies compared to this one.'"

In Colorado the railroads have been equally successful. Organized labor questioned the candidates, and so did the Direct Legislation League, while the Democratic State platform declared for the system, and so did the Denver Republican platform. But the direct initiative has been stricken out entirely, and the percentage for optional referendum raised to twenty per cent., and it is doubtful if even this will get through.

The strength of the monopolists, and their determined effort to prevent the adoption of majority rule, is most clearly shown in California, therefore the case is presented in considerable detail.

In 1898 the people of San Francisco adopted a new charter. It was prepared by a committee of one hundred business men, who placed in it provisions for a compulsory referendum as to franchises for city monopolies, and a direct initiative as to all questions upon petition of fifteen per cent. of the voters. The Legislature ratified the charter. Later the cities of Sacramento, Pasadena, and Alameda adopted a people's veto and direct initiative.

The referendum and initiative by counties was provided for a few years ago by the Legislature, but two years ago the Supreme Court of the State by a close vote declared the law unconstitutional.

Organized labor aided in securing these majority rule provisions. For years the California unions have been demanding a reform in the legislative system by placing in the people a veto

power and a direct initiative. At their annual convention last January a resolution was adopted directing the executive committee to prepare a constitutional amendment, and secure its submission by the Legislature.

During the summer, work along this line was begun in the southern part of the State, without knowing what organized labor had done. The California Direct Legislation League was organized; Dr. John R. Haynes, President, and George H. Dunlop, Secretary, both of Los Angeles. Dr. Haynes is a wealthy, popular, and busy physician, who was the soul of the struggle in securing the majority rule charter for Los Angeles. The league secured the formal endorsement of both the county conventions where Los Angeles is situated, and an effort was made to get the endorsements of the State conventions of both parties. This would have insured the submission of an amendment. The Democratic State convention adopted the resolution asked for, but the Republican convention refused it.

But this did not settle the question in the Republican party, for a new power in politics appeared upon the scene. At the suggestion of the National Federation for Majority Rule *it was decided to question candidates*. The California State Federation of Labor and the California Direct Legislation League took up the work. In a clear and concise letter explaining and embodying the issues, each candidate was interrogated in such a manner that he could not plead ignorance, while silence would place him under suspicion of being opposed to the people's rule.

The California Direct Legislation League issued a letter, somewhat similar to that of the State Federation of Labor.\*

In this way the Republican candidates were interrogated after the State convention had refused to promise that the party, if placed in power in the Legislature, would submit a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative. As the result of the questioning *the action of the State convention was reversed*. Fifty of the seventy-four successful Republican candidates for the Legislature pledged themselves in writing that,

\*In several States organized labor used a sixteen-page "Address and Questions" published by the National Federation for Majority Rule and supplied without charge.



if elected, they would vote for a constitutional amendment, the details of which should be as set forth in the demands of organized labor and of the Direct Legislation League.

The Democratic and Union Labor members—twenty Assemblymen and five of the newly elected Senators—were pledged by their party platform, and they have redeemed their promises.

But half the Senate held over, and it was here that the railroad magnates and other monopolists were able to defeat submission, as will appear by the following: For several weeks after the session began it was believed by the advocates of majority rule that there would be no difficulty in securing the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate, for the question did not touch the merits of the referendum and initiative. It was simply, Will the hold-over Senators recognize the people's right to ballot upon the proposed change in the system of government?—a mere right to self-government, expressly reserved in the Bill of Rights and publicly disputed by no one! "*All political power,*" says the California Bill of Rights, "*is inherent to the people.* Government is instituted for the protection, security, and benefit of the people; *and they have the right to alter or reform the same whenever the public good may require it.*"

Furthermore, while the campaign was in progress Dr. Pardee, the Republican nominee for Governor, wrote to an officer of the State Federation of Labor that he believed the tendency "to refer important questions of policy to the people is one that will prevail to a large extent in times to come, and I shall be glad," he said, "if it does so; for I have found that the people, after hearing a public question thoroughly discussed, can always be trusted to decide it with wisdom."

About the time the Legislature met at Sacramento there was held at Los Angeles the annual convention of the State Federation of Labor. It indorsed the amendments for the constitution prepared by the Direct Legislation League, and appointed a committee of three to coöperate with a committee from the League in arousing interest among the trade unions, other organizations, and the public in general. This committee sent a circular letter to each of the five hundred or more trade unions

of the State, with copies of a resolution ready for adoption indorsing the constitutional amendment for majority rule and requesting their Senator and Representative to vote for the submission of the same. In order that there might be no trouble in ascertaining the names of the Assemblymen and Senators, addressed envelopes were enclosed to each union.

And petitions were circulated, which, when presented to the Legislature, contained 22,000 names. The various organizations that passed resolutions to the same effect were said to represent 100,000 voters out of about 300,000 in the State. A delegate convention of forty farmers' clubs, representing the farming community of the seven southern counties of the State, unanimously asked for the submission of the amendment.

The situation in the State about the first of February was thus described by Mr. Preble of the legislative committee of the State Federation of Labor:

"So far we know of no opposition to the amendment, and, in view of the pledges received and the strength of organized labor in California, it seems almost incredible that representatives will have the hardihood to openly oppose it. We are sanguine of success, but are leaving no stone unturned to make assurance doubly sure."

But all the special interests of the State realized that their existence was at stake. They lined up their forces, and, in the face of determined threats by the legislative committee of organized labor and of the Direct Legislation League to defeat their reelection, fourteen of the Senators placed themselves on record as refusing to allow a vote by the people on a constitutional amendment for majority rule in city affairs—a permission which had passed the House by a vote of sixty-five to one. Thirteen other Senators coöperated by absenting themselves or not voting. This out of a total of forty, of whom twenty were hold-overs.

The Senate refused, also, to take up the question of allowing a vote by the people on an amendment for majority rule in State affairs, whereas permission had been granted in the House by fifty-five to four.

In short, the hold-over Senators and a few others denied the people of the State the right to self-government. This revolutionary action was taken while the entire body of organized labor was protesting, also a large number of farmers' organizations, and thousands of petitioners.

This demonstrates the length to which the monopolists have gone, and it shows just what the people have to meet. The people must do some effective campaigning before they can free themselves from monopoly rule—the rule of the few. It is the last great fight for emancipation. With majority rule installed the republic will be preserved.

What the campaign should be is clearly shown by the success in questioning candidates. We have seen how, in the early stages of the contest the action of the California Republican convention was reversed, and how final success in the State would have been won had it not been for the hold-over Senators. In Missouri, too, the action of the Republican State convention was reversed, but as the Democratic party declared in its platform for the submission of a constitutional amendment for majority rule the hold-over Senators, being largely Democratic, were brought into line. The absence, however, of specific details in the Democratic platform left the hold-over Senators and those unpledged to organized labor, free to insist on conditions that will almost nullify the system. The only portion of much use is the direct initiative as to the constitution itself. In Montana the action of both the Democratic and Republican State conventions was reversed.

The foregoing demonstrates the value of questioning candidates. *The organizations that do not make nominations CAN EASILY DETERMINE THE ISSUES.* This is the vital function. No candidate dares to openly oppose majority rule or several other issues that have been kept in the background owing to the monopolists' control of the two leading parties. Third party politics have been used with almost no immediate success, while the open sesame—the questioning of candidates—was within reach and untouched.

The Anti-Saloon League was among the first in this country

to discover the secret, and its remarkable line of successes is a tribute to the effectiveness of the plan and the capabilities of the managers. At the annual meeting of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, January, 1902, Mr. Isaac Taylor, of Kansas City, introduced a resolution for a Joint Committee on Direct Legislation, "the purpose of which shall be:

*"To interrogate all candidates for legislative positions upon the subject of direct legislation, and to secure the pledges of candidates on this proposition and such other legislation as is demanded by the Missouri State Federation of Labor, and to make public such information, to the end that the next General Assembly may be composed of men who may justly conform to the wishes of the toilers in securing 'equal rights for all and special privileges for none.'"*

This program was adopted a year ago last January. The writer, when the system came to his notice, realized something of its value, and through the National Federation for Majority Rule began sending to State Federations of Labor copies of the Missouri resolution, with changes suited to the conditions.

At the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor last November, representatives from the Washington State Federation introduced a resolution for a National system. It includes questioning candidates and bringing before the county conventions the demands of organized labor. This resolution was reported favorably and unanimously adopted. And there was introduced by First Vice-President Duncan a resolution commending the questioning of candidates in the several States, and providing that the system shall be used to secure the referendum and initiative in National affairs. This resolution was also adopted unanimously.

At the annual session of the Washington State Grange, held in June of last year, the Master of the State organization was instructed

*"To appoint a Grange Committee in each county where there is an organized Grange. The duties of said committee shall be to interview the various legislative candidates and to persuade them to use their best efforts if elected to the Legislature to secure the passage of a bill to amend the State constitution,*

providing for direct legislation, which shall be submitted to the people, as required by the State constitution."

Doubtless there are many other instances of a systematic questioning of candidates in this country. Recent investigations of political progress in New Zealand, by Prof. Parsons, shows that much of the success there has been due to questioning candidates.

Profiting by the past year's experience the system is being improved and extended. The county and State conventions of all the parties will be notified of the demand for the submission of a constitutional amendment. The questioning of the nominees will be completed much earlier in the campaign. The details as to majority rule amendments will be fully specified by enumerating some of the details, and for the balance reference will be made to the South Dakota system and that of federal Switzerland. Mass meetings have been successful in Chicago, and will be used freely if necessary. At the meetings held by candidates they should be questioned orally and repeatedly. In this way they will publicly commit themselves.

Instead of a formal *federation* for majority rule, local *leagues* of the *unorganized* are being formed, leaving organized labor, organized farmers, and organized business men each to do their own questioning and convention work, or to do it through a Joint Majority Rule Committee. *To stimulate action in these organizations is one of the chief functions of the local Leagues.*

*The League is to be a pace-making organization, a permanent institution, just as nominating organizations are permanent.* The men who run the party machines are interested in making a living from their profession; therefore the non-partisan organizations should determine the issues, and will do so. Conventions will be notified and nominees will be questioned. There is much work to be done and at once.

Ten States elect Legislatures this year: Ohio, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Mississippi. In each of these States the candidates for the Legislature should be pledged to give the voters an opportunity to ballot upon the termination



of monopoly rule. This can easily be accomplished through the combined action of organized labor, organized farmers, organized business men, and Majority Rule Leagues.

In all the cities and villages of the country where the referendum and initiative does not exist the system can be installed at the next election by questioning candidates. Ask them whether, if elected, they will vote for rules of procedure whereby the people may instruct their representatives in the city council. In this way the people in several cities have protected themselves. There is no need to wait and organize a successful State campaign, then wait two years to ballot on a constitutional amendment, and afterward wait two years more for the Legislature to provide by statute the details of the system. Cities that have liberated themselves are Winnetka, Geneva, and Chicago, all in Illinois; Detroit, Toronto, Vancouver, B. C.; Waco and San Antonio, in Texas. The Majority Rule Committee of the Texas State Federation of Labor has sent to each Central Union in the State a request to appoint a committee to present questions to aldermanic candidates.

Next year there are not only city elections, but in all but four of the States a Legislature is to be elected; while in national affairs a new House of Representatives is to be elected, one-third of the Senators are to be elected, and the remaining two-thirds can be instructed. Already a considerable number of Congressmen are pledged to vote for rules of procedure for the referendum and initiative. This year's battle for self-government in most of the legislatures is arousing public opinion, *thereby helping to carry Congress next year*. The trust question is the dominant one. And "strangely enough," writes the chairman of the questioning committee in Missouri, "we find it easier to pledge congressional candidates than legislative nominees."

Preparatory to sweeping the country—city councils, Legislatures, and Congress—the National and State referendum organizations are merging in a *Majority Rule League*, with National, State, and District Committees, and a League is to be formed in each community. Charters for the locals are being issued



upon application of seven or more adults. Here is congenial and effective work for those who have at heart the welfare of the race, and in so doing they will also be winning the love and esteem of the community. The most popular men in Chicago and other localities are those who are leading the majority rule movement. The pending elections and the importance of the work call for prompt action on the part of high-minded patriots.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

*Washington, D. C.*

## A CONVERSATION

WITH NATHANIEL C. FOWLER, JR.

### ADVERTISING, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.\*

Q. Will you tell us something about the growth and development of advertising during the past quarter of a century as compared with the past?

A. Accurate figures are impossible. General opinion, probably not far from fact, places the volume of present American commercial advertising, including commercial printing, as fully a dozen times greater than it was a quarter of a century ago. Less conservative judgment would add from 50 to 100 per cent. to this estimate.

Advertising was born the day after the birthday of business, but commercial advertising, although always used, for business doing without it is impossible, was not recognized as a business necessity, or as an accomplice before and with business, until about fifty years ago; and twenty-five years later, or twenty-five years ago, advertising was by common acceptance taken into business partnership and recognized to be as much a commercial essential as is the raw material itself, its manufacture, and its sale. Then the business brain looked upon advertising as investment and not as expense. Before it had been consid-

*\*Editorial Note:* In the following conversation our readers will enjoy the views and opinions of the leading advertising expert in America. Mr. Fowler's position is unique. Unlike most members of the advertising craft, he has no connection with any advertising agency or printing house. His services are as ethical and professional as those of an attorney-at-law. He is, therefore, not prejudiced in regard to any special form or kind of advertising, but discusses the interesting and important subject as a statesman would discuss statescraft or a lawyer the various aspects of the legal profession. He is the well-known author of "Fowler's Publicity," the only encyclopedia of advertising ever published, and of a remarkably helpful and suggestive work entitled "The Boy and How to Help Him Succeed."—B. O. F.

ered more or less of an experiment and always as an expense—a luxury or a side-issue. To-day no successful advertiser considers advertising other than business investment, as much a real, tangible thing as is the factory or the product of the factory. Twenty-five years ago commercial advertising extended but little further than the daily and weekly newspaper, the poster, bill-board, and the out-door sign. To-day every known method of publicity is used, and advertising experts are discovering new ones with every sunrise. A half century ago, most of the advertisers advertised under protest. To-day the advertising appropriation is handled as a necessary part of business.

Substantially every American publication carries advertising matter. The annual grand total of the number of copies issued by these publications, including dailies, weeklies, monthlies, and other regularly issued periodicals, may exceed thirty-five hundreds of millions.

Assuming that there are one hundred advertisements, a conservative figure, in each issue of each periodical, there then would be not far from two millions of separate advertisements in every collective North American issue, and an aggregate number exceeding three hundred and fifty thousands of millions of impressions of advertisements during a single year.

If two hundred and fifty clipped advertisements piled together would make the thickness of an inch a year's advertising, placed sheet upon sheet, would erect a pile nearly one hundred and seventeen millions of feet high.

Place each copy of the advertisements appearing in all the publications during one year, end to end, and there would be an announcement ribbon of advertising paper one hundred and eleven thousands of miles long.

These figures are unverified, but they are the result of a most conservative and careful study on my part.

The progressiveness of America gives to American advertising a volume not proportionately approached by any other civilized nation, and multiplying the foregoing, as well as the following, figures by four will undoubtedly not be far from the statistical truth of the world's advertising.

There are more than one hundred thousand printing offices

in North America, and the advertising product of the printing press in catalogues, circulars, and other advertising matter, will probably double the periodical figures presented.

A most conservative estimate says that the business men of North America annually expend more than one hundred and fifty millions of dollars in newspaper and magazine advertising alone, and undoubtedly a sum equal to this is consumed for advertising printed matter.

The grand total of North American advertising, including printing, but exclusive of all books and the product of the press which is not pure and simple advertising, cannot be far from three hundred millions of dollars per year.

If my figures be correct, the cost of spreading printer's ink all over the face of the civilized world, including the printing of books and all other printed matter whether it be advertising or otherwise, but not including lithography, will present an annual aggregate not far from two thousand million dollars.

A statistician, with plenty of leisure, has calculated that the total annual circulation of all the periodicals in the world exceeds twelve thousands of millions copies. These combined editions would require over three-quarters of a million tons of paper; and, if spread out, would cover an area of ten thousand and five hundred square miles. If piled, one upon another, they would reach an altitude of five hundred miles.

Assuming that the average man gives fifteen minutes of his day to the study of his paper, or other periodical, the people of the world, each year, collectively occupy the equivalent of three hundred thousand years reading their papers.

This enormous bulk of advertising, and this tremendous volume of printed matter, undoubtedly has grown within the last twenty-five years to occupy a volume twelve times greater than it was only a quarter of a century ago. In nothing else has the world progressed so rapidly. To realize this let the reader turn to the advertising pages of the few magazines of twenty-five years ago and place them side by side with the magazines of to-day. Let him compare the size of the daily paper of a quarter of a century ago with the bulky Sunday paper of last Sun-

day. Let him hold in one hand the annual book catalogue of twenty-five years ago and in the other hand the catalogue of the books published last year.

Q. It has been suggested that the advertisers of the country are indirectly greatly furthering the cause of popular education, in that the magazines and periodical literature are one of the chief sources of popular education at the present time, and that these are very largely sustained through their advertisements. Will you give us your views on this question?

A. Comparatively few magazines or other periodicals, including the daily and weekly newspapers, could exist in their present quantity and quality without the income derived from advertising.

Advertising, then, is necessary for the support of our present periodical literature. I do not mean to say that the circulation of good literature is dependent upon advertising, for if all advertising were withdrawn, some literary publications would exist, but the same high quality could not be maintained at the present low subscription prices. Instead of from three to a dozen periodicals to a reader, each reader would subscribe to but one or two publications, and the circulation of literature and information would be naturally curtailed.

To-day, the reader can get what he wants at a very low expense, and this low cost would be impossible without commercial advertising.

Q. What is the tendency of advertising at the present time in regard to truthfulness and artistic merit as compared with the past?

A. So long as there is business, just so long will there be honest and dishonest business; and as advertising is a part of business, it will be neither better nor worse, neither more truthful nor less truthful, than is the business of its day. The truthfulness of advertising is on the same level as the business it represents, neither above nor below it. Misrepresentation and exaggeration have always been conspicuously associated with business, and naturally are found in advertising. I think that advertising, to-day, is not more untruthful than it was last year,

twelve years ago, or twenty-five years ago. I am rather inclined to believe that it is more truthful, not necessarily from choice, but because of the detective force of competition and the general higher grade of common intelligence. The artistic advertising of to-day compared with the advertising of twenty-five years ago shows as marked a difference as there is between the old-fashioned newspaper announcement and the beautiful water-color lithograph.

The best artists, for several years, have been employed by advertisers, and, to-day, comparatively few artists refuse commercial work. The expense of illustrating the advertisements in the magazine frequently exceeds the cost of illustrating the regular magazine pages.

Q. Do you regard the advertisements in and of themselves as of any value from an educational view-point?

A. Any printed matter, whether it be the rough circus poster, the prosaic railroad time-table, or the art catalogue of commodities, is educational. Advertising is more educational, to-day, than it ever was before, because there is more of it, because it is better written, because it is better presented. It has been said that the advertising pages of the first-class magazine present more information than do the contents of the magazine, and certainly the advertising pages chronicle the progress of commercialism.

Q. In your opinion, from a social point of view, does the educating which advertising does injure the public more than it benefits it?

A. I think that the benefits are ahead of the injuries. The advertising of first-class goods cannot be other than educationally beneficial. The liberal advertising of sanitary arrangements, health-foods, and other progressive commodities, has done more than is realized towards introducing to the people right methods of living. Probably the sanitary condition of our houses and the general healthfulness of our food are due to the advertising of the manufacturers of these articles as much as to any other influence.

The advertising of unnecessary luxuries, and of articles of



extravagance, has undoubtedly been considerably responsible for our unnatural ways of living.

The advertising of dangerous compounds, unhealthy foods, patent medicines, and the like, has probably done more towards injuring the health of the common people than has any other agent. If it were not for advertising the American people would not be a dosing people, nor would they be so constantly ailing, nor would they feel the necessity of everlastingly filling their stomachs with useless and injurious drugs and concoctions.

Advertising while lifting the people on the one side has undoubtedly degraded the people on the other.

The right kind of advertising, the advertising of the right kind of goods, is one of the great factors of civilization. The advertising of the wrong kind of goods, of things which people should not use or take, has been one of the most damning influences, and has probably done more harm than any one has realized. Advertising, then, is both an educational agent for great good and for great harm.

Q. Are the "Trusts" closing the advertising field?

A. One of the arguments presented by "Trust" magnates in favor of "Trusts" is that they reduce the cost of every department of the business; and, as advertising is a part of business, the formation of "Trusts" cannot do otherwise than materially reduce the volume of advertising.

Q. What in your judgment is to be the future of advertising?

A. The future of advertising will be a part of the future of business. As business increases, advertising will increase. As business becomes better, advertising will be better. If business becomes worse, advertising will be worse. Advertising cannot be separated from business.

Q. What will be its function in the dawning social organization?

A. When we become civilized, and true economy is practised and waste is reduced to the minimum, there will be very little business as business is now conducted, and consequently very little commercial advertising.

# TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

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## THE CASE AGAINST THE TRUSTS.

### I. THREE COUNTS IN THE INDICTMENT.

In this discussion we shall consider three leading counts in the indictment against the modern trusts and corporations: (1) Opposition of the people; (2) corruption of the nation; (3) the exploitation of labor; either one of which would afford ample justification for radical action on the part of a government that claims to be administered for the benefit of all its citizens. Nothing could be more essentially unrepblican or more reactionary than the permission of systematic exactions of excessive charges from the millions of our citizens for the abnormal enrichment of the few, through the enjoyment of special privileges and class laws or the evasion of National and State statutes. Moreover, the long toleration of such injustice—it matters not under what pretext—cannot fail to demoralize society as well as prove a source of National corruption. The withholding from labor of a rightful share of the wealth created is another immoral act that is as essentially unjust as it is undemocratic, and that cannot fail to foment an ever-growing discontent where education is as diffused as in our land—a discontent which, if not met by true statesmanship expressed in just and fearless action, will inevitably lead to a revolution such as no right-minded person desires to see inaugurated; while the corruption of the government and of public opinion-forming agencies by corporate interests is a supreme and deadly menace to free institutions. Therefore this question is one to which no voter can remain indifferent.

This month we shall confine our attention to the injury sustained by all the people through trust or monopoly exactions, and in our next issue the subject of the corrupting influence of the corporations and trusts upon the nation or government will be noticed at length.

## II. OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE.

To even briefly point out the devious methods employed by various trusts and corporations to annually extort scores of millions of dollars out of the pockets of the consumers by virtue of the monopoly interests enjoyed, which place the people at the mercy of the monopolies, would require a volume. We therefore confine ourselves to typical illustrations, and in selecting these we will take the Standard Oil Company and the Coal Trust. The former is taken because for a long time it has enjoyed the distinction of being the wealthiest and most powerful trust in the United States, and also because it has recently given the people an impressive illustration of trust methods; while the evils and oppressions of the lawless Coal Trust, rendered possible by its refusal for nearly six months to arbitrate its grievances, have occasioned such misery among millions of our people, have caused so many deaths and so much acute suffering, and the transfer of so many millions of dollars from the pockets of the many into the pockets of small groups of greed-dominated individuals, that it needs no long citation of facts to prove how the people are robbed and oppressed by this trust which, according to ex-Attorney General Richard Olney, has for years been the "most unblushing and persistent of law-breakers," and of which he said: "For years they [the operators constituting the Coal Trust] have defied the laws of Pennsylvania, which forbid common carriers engaging in the business of mining; for years they have discriminated between customers in the freight charges on their railroads in violation of the Interstate Commerce Law; for years they have unlawfully monopolized interstate commerce in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law."

For several decades the Standard Oil Company was the richest corporation in the New World. In spite of its enormous expenses for lobby work and corrupt practises, as revealed in the Congressional and State investigations, it has made its large stockholders many times millionaires, while its stock has regularly paid princely dividends. As master of the oil trade it was in the full tide of prosperity, earning enormously on its gigantic sales, when the coal famine opened.

At that time oil was wholesaling in New York at seven and one-half cents a gallon. When, however, the price of coal rose from five and six dollars a ton to from nine to fourteen dollars a ton, and the poor through the iniquity and oppression of the trust that rendered this outrage possible found themselves un-

able to procure one of life's prime necessities in northern climes—and a necessity for which nature had provided most liberally for the benefit of all her children—they turned to another of God's great gifts to His people—petroleum.

At seven and one-half cents a gallon—the price at which it sold up to September 20, 1902—the poor were able to enjoy a measure of heat. But the helplessness of the millions was the opportunity for the robber Oil Trust, whose long history is probably the blackest of that of any corporation in America. The price of coal oil was advanced a cent a gallon. This meant millions of dollars wrung from poverty to further enrich multi-millionaires. One cent a gallon increase, however, did not satisfy these modern cormorants of capital; and so another advance was made and then another, until on December 20th the wholesale price of oil had risen to eleven and one-half cents—an advance of four cents on every gallon sold at wholesale. Thus, while the poor were buying their oil in September at nine and ten cents a gallon, by the latter part of December they were paying thirteen and fourteen cents in and near the great metropolitan centers.

On December 20th the *New York Journal* published a table showing what this increase of four cents a gallon meant to the Standard Oil Company, based on the annual sales of oil for the last year. According to this table the refined oil sold by this company for the year was 2,337,000,000 gallons:

Value of same at 7½ cents a gallon.....	\$175,312,500
Value of same at 11½ cents a gallon.....	245,437,500
Increased profits per year.....	93,500,000

Here we find one of nature's most beneficent provisions for the people, and which should be the property of all, being controlled by a small handful of men so as to not only make multi-millionaires, but by being employed as an instrument of oppression in the hour of the people's need and misery, to extort more than ninety million dollars in excess of prices that were yielding many millions of profits prior to the hour when the helpless poor became a further prey to the Oil Trust's rapacity.

Now let us turn to the Coal Trust. For years the great coal-carrying railroads of the anthracite districts were waging a war against the owners of the large coal fields, with the single object of acquiring these enormously rich treasure houses of nature, which, like the water supply, should be the property of all the people. The laws of Pennsylvania made it unlawful for

the railroads to directly or indirectly operate the coal properties; but to such an extent have the corporations debauched the government of the Keystone State that these lawless monopolies felt no fear in defying the laws; and controlling the great commercial highways, it was an easy matter to gain a practical monopoly of the great coal fields. The so-called independent operators that remained, being entirely at their mercy, became thoroughly complacent—humble, in fact, as Uriah Heap—because they knew they had to acquiesce with their virtual masters or surrender their possessions at a great sacrifice.

Then the consuming public began to experience some of the boasted blessings of monopoly, when that monopoly or trust is operated by a private corporation like the Coal Trust, the Oil Trust, and the Beef Trust instead of by the people, like the Post Office.

In the spring of 1901 the local coal combine of Boston sent out a circular letter to the consumers, stating that owing to the advanced prices of coal, due among other things "to the consolidation of railroad companies bringing coal to tide water," the price of coal would be increased on the tenth day of May ten cents per ton, and "there will be," the circular continued, "a further advance of ten cents on the first day of June, July, August, and September, making the wholesale price of coal September first fifty cents per ton higher than during April."

Interstate Commerce Commissioner Prouty is reported to have recently pointed out that "If the anthracite coal combine advances the price of that commodity to the consumer one dollar a ton, it levies upon the poverty of the country, which uses that coal, a tax of fifty million dollars annually in favor of the wealth which engineered and profits by that combine." Thus it will be seen that the arbitrary advance of fifty cents a ton meant twenty-five million dollars or thereabouts taken from the pockets of the people by the Coal and Railroad Trust.

Coming down to the recent struggle and the resulting coal famine, we find the miners asking for a small advance in wages—an advance that the American people would have cheerfully paid in the increased price of coal—but the insolent and arrogant trust not only refused the demand of its great army of slaves, but refused to arbitrate the question, though none knew better than Mr. Baer and his associates that that refusal would mean untold misery to millions of people, and in all probability the most terrible death to scores of the poor. The spirit of brutal despotism has seldom been more flagrantly in evidence



than in the action of the lawless Coal Trust. What did it matter to the multi-millionaires who constitute that organization that mothers and tender children should freeze to death for want of fuel—as they have in numbers of instances during the past winter? What did it matter that twenty million people, the majority of whom need every cent of money they can earn, should be compelled to pay five to eight dollars a ton for coal more than the already exorbitant rates that the trust has been levying during recent years? They knew that they were in possession of the great storehouses of nature's fuel, from which the people must in part at least obtain their heat or they would freeze to death. They knew they had nothing to fear from the subservient government of Pennsylvania and the emasculated administration at Washington. Hence they felt secure and confident that, come what would, they could sooner or later make up all losses suffered during over five months of idleness by further plundering the people. And as a result of this blighting curse of a monopoly or trust in this one of life's necessities, the consumers of coal the past winter were compelled to pay from five to eight dollars a ton more for their coal than they would have paid, even under the exorbitant rates that prevailed before the trust determined to reduce its slaves to complete and abject submission.

And what is more, the American consumers of anthracite coal during the past winter have paid at least three times as much as they would be to-day paying if the government owned and operated the coal mines and the railroads.

A few years ago, before the Coal Trust became the master of the situation, we secured our furnace coal in Boston at from \$4.25 to \$4.50 a ton. During the greater part of the past winter we were compelled to pay from \$10 to \$14 a ton for the same coal. If, as Interstate Commerce Commissioner Prouty observes, the advance of a dollar a ton on anthracite means fifty million dollars from the pockets of the people, it is easy to see how the people would save hundreds of millions of dollars through governmental ownership and control of the mines and the coal railroads.

The above illustrations of the shameful oppression of the trusts are typical, and the extortion extends down to the smallest items and necessities in daily use that are controlled by trusts. Thus, according to government statistics, the annual value of the factory product of pins and needles controlled by a trust is a little over thirty million dollars above the total cost



of production. Another illustration is found in so simple a thing as borax. Here, through the tariff, the borax trust is able to charge five cents more on every pound of borax than the people of England pay for the same article. Thus every time the family uses ten pounds of borax it pays a tax of fifty cents, not to support the government, but simply to enrich a trust powerful enough to obtain a permission from the government to take from every consumer of borax five cents on every pound used, in excess of a reasonable price.

If no other count could be proven against the trusts controlled by private interests than this oppression and despoilation of the people through brigandage, sometimes law-bulwarked and sometimes in defiance of law, it would be a sufficient reason for the prompt enactment of statutes by which the benefits of coöperation or combination should go to enrich all the people instead of the few. This, however, is but one of the moral crimes that are justly charged to the corporations and trusts.

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### THE VISION THE LIFE OF A NATION.

The story of civilization bears eloquent testimony to the truth of Solomon's words when he declared that "where there is no vision, the people perish."

The moral virility sustained only by spiritual ideals is essential for permanency and enduring power and glory in a civilization, nation, or people, as is oxygen necessary for physical life. And in proportion as people turn from the higher to the lower; in proportion as they turn from the fundamental ethical verities of justice, freedom, and fraternity, or that all-comprehending love embraced in the commandments, Thou shalt love the Lord God (or the all-pervading Life) with all thy heart, soul, and being, and thy neighbor (the individual life that surrounds thee) as thyself; in proportion as they place the gratification of animal appetites and desires and egoistic ambition above the demands of conscience and the obligations imposed by the law of solidarity—they lose in all those elements that give power, persistency, and virility to life and enable a people successfully to withstand the shocks that come from within and without.

The vision, the ideal, the whole-hearted yielding to the lofty

demands of the soul—the exaltation of love—the passion for justice—the tender out-gushing sympathy for all less happily circumstanced ones—the insistence upon the same freedom for others demanded for self: herein alone lies the path of life and glory. But any treason to the vision, any turning aside from the ideal, any attempt to substitute personal desires, egoistic ambition, or lust of the appetites for the vision that lights the soul and beacons civilization along the highway of progress, leads to defeat and death.

The virility, strength, and life-sap that made the great Republic at once the leading moral world-power among the nations of the earth—the greatest inspiration to the apostles of love and liberty the world over and the wonder of all peoples—lay in the moral vision and the passionate acceptance of the great fundamental ethical truths shadowed forth in the Declaration of Independence.

To turn from this real dominion over the imagination of earth, this true leadership, and to descend to attempts at forcible annexation and wars of subjugation, was to betray the Christ principle in the world's government as Judas betrayed Jesus—for material gain. It was to be guilty of the greatest apostasy recorded in the annals of the nation. It was to repudiate the vision to grasp the clod.

And what is true in regard to national recreancy as it relates to other peoples is equally true touching oppression at home. The granting of special privileges to the few was the denial of equal opportunities to all. The failure to safeguard and protect the rights of the weakest was to deny the sacred trust imposed by civilization on her most favored child. The supreme peril of the great Republic lies in the solemn fact that the vision is being eclipsed by greed for gold, passion for physical dominion, and the exaltation of egoistic ambition. An early recognition of this fact means national salvation. Indeed, such is the potency of the moral verities, such the universality of the divine spark in the soul of man, that, though the children of the vision or the ideal be for some time in a seemingly hopeless minority, they must and will triumph, provided they unite and consecrate life's noblest efforts on the altar of truth, covenanting with one another and with the Infinite that so far as lies in their power they will reinstate the great Republic as the moral leader of earth, as the noblest exponent of justice, freedom, and fraternity in the family of civilization.

Let no one despair. The battle between the vision and the

clod—between justice, liberty, and fraternity, and gold, physical dominion, and personal ambition—has only just begun; and though the opening contests have been won by the materialistic power, though the enemies of the vision are working in church, university, and press as did the Tory enemies work throughout the cities and hamlets of the colonies in the old days, all that is needed is the moral awakening that time and again has saved nations. Let the old-time spirit of Israel's prophets appear again. Let the fervor and the courage of a Samuel Adams and a John Hancock, the breadth of thought of a Jefferson, and the spiritual enthusiasm of a Mazzini touch the heart and the brain of our young men and women; and lo! the vision will have returned, reenforced by that moral power which is called into life in moments of deadly peril.

It may seem much to say, and yet I believe it to be a profound truth, that at no time in the history of civilization did each individual possess so great an opportunity effectively to battle for God and triumphant humanity as to-day. At no time has truth called more earnestly than at the present for her children to rally around the vision and save from deadly peril, not the Republic alone, but the cause of freedom and justice embodied in the dream of pure democracy.

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## TWO NOTABLE REFORM VICTORIES IN OHIO.

The recent elections of Mayors Johnson and Jones, in Cleveland and Toledo, are among the most notable and significant triumphs for the principles of sound democracy as opposed to class rule and government by the corporations that have occurred since the capitalistic and imperialistic reaction of the past decade.

### I. MAYOR JOHNSON'S REELECTION.

In the election of Mayor Tom L. Johnson Senator Hanna experienced the first signal Waterloo in his political career, the defeat being especially humiliating to one who probably to a greater extent than any other American politician trusts in the power of corporate wealth to achieve victories over the early and noble idea of our republic and the palpable interests of the people, because he had made it his own fight and had brought

to bear upon it all the power and resources at his command to overwhelm the man who had struggled to secure just taxation of corporate wealth and the benefits of public utilities for all the people instead of the exploitation of the people for the financial benefit of greedy public service monopolies. The contest, moreover, was of particular interest to the Ohio Senator, inasmuch as his political prestige and his pocket-book were both concerned, he being a large stockholder in one of the street railway corporations. To compass his ends a tremendous effort was made by Mr. Hanna and his rich and powerful associates and aids to secure the support of the labor unions. The machine republicans were also reinforced by the graft-hunting and Bourbon democrats. The beneficiaries of corporate wealth and special privilege were enlisted under the republican banner; and the "unco' good" of the churches, who make long prayers and pose as pillars of society while devouring the sustenance of widows and orphans and preying on the public, also joined in the ever-swelling refrain against the mayor who had proved himself at once brave and most loyal to his high trust and the interests of all the citizens.

Wealth—unlimited wealth—was marshalled against Mayor Johnson. The corporations believed him their most dangerous foe. They knew him to be unpurchaseable and thoroughly acquainted with their methods. Furthermore, they understood that, so far as lay in his power, the people should no longer be compelled to bear the burden of millions of dollars of taxes that should be paid by the corporations, who in turn were plundering them in various ways.

With all his resourcefulness and power of generalship; with his wide experience as chairman of the Republican National Committee, and the prestige it gives him, and with the command of so many forces lined up against Mr. Johnson, Senator Hanna was confident that he could ride down and overwhelm his opponent. "Republicans are amazed at the result," telegraphed the New York *Herald's* correspondent on the night of the election, "because they regarded the defeat of Mr. Johnson as absolutely certain."

Instead of being defeated, the popular mayor was elected by 5,985, or within fifteen votes of six thousand majority. And what is more, when two years ago Mr. Johnson was elected mayor the Republicans carried the rest of the ticket by four thousand majority. This year the entire Democratic ticket was elected by majorities greater than the Republican majority of

two years ago, and twenty-three out of a total thirty-three councilmen are also Mr. Johnson's supporters.

This election gives new emphasis to the claim that the people are sound at heart; that they are intensely and truly democratic and loyal in their support of progressive principles. They only need clear-sighted, able and fearless leadership to overcome even the combined power of corporation-owned and controlled party machine forces and the great wealth so lavishly expended by the trusts, monopolies, and corporations to secure reactionary class supremacy in government.

The victory of Mayor Johnson is not only a victory for all the forces of municipal progress, but it is a triumph for progressive democratic principles over the baleful, corrupt and reactionary political policies that have so largely prevailed during recent years in national, state, and city affairs.

## II. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MAYOR JONES'S GREAT VICTORY.

The recent reelection of Mayor Samuel M. Jones, one of the special contributors to the ARENA, to the chief magistracy of Toledo has a nation-wide political significance in that it is the most signal individual triumph of a representative of the rapidly growing popular opposition to the autocratic rule of the political boss and the partizan machine, dominated and governed by corrupt corporations and reinforced by a daily press which is at once controlled by the trusts and monopolistic influences and is the servile tool of the political boss.

This year the politicians who manipulate the Republican and Democratic parties of Toledo determined to overthrow Mr. Jones, popularly known as the "Golden Rule mayor," and designated by himself as "the man without a party." The mayor had proved superior to the multitudinous temptations, direct and indirect, put forward by various self-seeking influences as well as by political parties and beneficiaries of special privileges. He had faithfully and honestly striven to carry out the principles of the Golden Rule in his official life, and he had been inflexibly honest. When the time for nominations came the Republican and Democratic machines decided to break the rule of the simple republican.

It is probably true that, recognizing the confidence of the people in the man who had three times been elected mayor of the city, either party would have been glad to have nominated him if he would have consented to be a machine nominee, with all that that has come to mean.



But Mayor Jones is nothing if he is not an independent, conscience-guided, and incorruptible patriot. He positively declined to be the creature or even the representative of the partizan machine, and so the fiat went forth that he must be politically slain. The noble apostle of the Golden Rule was denounced roundly by the boodlers and venal champions of the corporations seeking graft, as well as by the politicians who by making politics a trade become rich in devious ways. All these parties suddenly became aware of the fact that the best mayor Toledo had ever had was a "dangerous" character. The most notorious political demagogues,—taking a hint from the thief who after stealing a large bundle of bank notes from the cashier's desk in a populous city at the noon hour, ran onto the thronged sidewalk and having securely hidden his booty under his coat, joined the bank attachés in their cry of "Stop thief!"—began shouting aloud that Mayor Jones was a demagogue. The fact that he could not be corrupted; that he would not betray the interests of the city and the demands of the higher law, and that he sought to translate the Golden Rule into the rule of life, was to them incomprehensible.

But a still greater mystery lay in the fact that this simple patriot, this pure-minded man of ideals, held such a marvelous sway over the brain and heart of the people. Surely a man who could ignore corporate interests and the political machine, and win, must be dangerous. Regular candidates were nominated and a vigorous campaign inaugurated, while Mr. Jones was petitioned by three thousand voters of the city to again stand for mayor. He accepted the trust in a brief letter of less than seven hundred words. The copy of this letter, which surely was legitimate news in which the public of Toledo was interested, was given to all the daily papers. Only the *German Daily Express* would print it as news. All the other dailies refused. The *Democratic Bee* and the so-called *Independent News* consented to insert it as a pay advertisement; while the two machine republican papers, the *Blade* and the *Times*, even refused the use of their columns at advertising rates, so anxious were these journals to keep their readers in ignorance of Mayor Jones's candidacy and to curry the favor of the corporations and the corporation-controlled machine. In order to bring the matter before the electorate, where Mayor Jones was content to let it rest, he published his last message to the council and his letter of acceptance in pamphlet form and personally addressed the electorate in a purely democratic manner.



The people, thus given the opportunity to choose between the wealth-bolstered, corporation-controlled political machines and the true-hearted democrat who had demonstrated that he was a faithful steward, elected him by an overwhelming majority. This victory should give inspiration to every friend of freedom. The corporation-owned party machines of to-day are the reverse of democratic or republican in spirit and in operation. They are aristocratic; they belong to the government of classes, and are out of harmony with the spirit of republican institutions. They must be relegated to the rear by an enlightened, conscience-guided electorate.

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#### THE LONDON *TIMES* AS A TOOL FOR PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS.

That part of the American press that is either owned or subsidized by the trusts and corporations has of late been giving wide circulation to a series of papers which have appeared in the *London Times*, devoted to special pleading in favor of private corporations owning and operating the immensely valuable public utilities of the municipalities, which in America are proving such a veritable Klondike to the small groups composing the corporations that realize fabulous revenues which should rightly go to reducing taxes on the one hand, and to making parks and playgrounds and building libraries and museums for the benefit of all the people on the other.

These papers were nothing less than briefs for interested parties, abounding in statements of half truths from which wholly fallacious conclusions were cunningly drawn—conclusions that would have been too palpably absurd to be advanced if the whole case or the essential facts involved had been stated. They were filled with the familiar juggling with facts and figures, with the plausible sophistry based on false, misleading, or partial statements, and with other exhibitions of mental gymnastics so commonly employed by craft and cunning at the behest of great wealth and for the purpose of robbing the people of their rightful property by diverting to private purses funds that in the very nature of the case should enrich and benefit the community sustaining the public utilities.

The fact that these papers appeared in the *London Times* was

seized upon by the special pleaders for the corporations on this side of the Atlantic as conclusive reason why the growing demand for the municipal ownership of natural monopolies in America should be ignored and our cities continue to be denied the enormous benefits now being enjoyed by Glasgow, Birmingham, Liverpool, and other populous cities in Great Britain. The men who held stock in corporations like the Boston Elevated Railroad, for example, whose net earnings last year amounted to \$3,456,395, were loud in their demands that the London *Times'* denunciation of municipal ownership be taken by the people as a final and authoritative utterance. The fact that the *Times* has for generations been the voice of special privilege and oppression; that it has bitterly fought the extension of freedom, the enlargement of the rights of the people, and the introduction of measures which would secure to all the people benefits hitherto enjoyed by the few; and, finally, that it has long been what it is to-day—reactionary and Bourbon in its spirit—was not only carefully ignored by those who represent the stockholders of public service corporations, but the further fact that these special pleadings were inspired by corporations greedy to seize upon public utilities not already in the hands of the people for their further emolument, and the fact that the *Times'* articles were merely the extension of American methods by which great dailies in this country, owned and controlled by corporate wealth, have betrayed the interests of city, State and Nation and of individuals at the behest of their masters, were naturally enough entirely ignored by the editorial writers and other special pleaders for the corporations who sought to deceive the American voters by enlarging on the importance of the *Times'* contributions.

Perhaps it is not surprising that those who are dependent upon the favor of the corporations for daily bread should lend themselves to the tactics of the hired attorneys and seek to aid in so deceiving the electorate that it permits public franchises, worth to the community untold millions of dollars, to pass into the hands of the few; for we are living in a time when the moral ideals of city, State and nation are at a low ebb, especially when they relate to political and commercial life, but it is high time that the voters should awaken to a realization of the true position of the editorial special pleaders for corporate greed. In almost every instance behind the pen that pleads for private ownership of public utilities stands the man or men already immensely rich through the enjoyment of franchises which by

right belong to the people, and who are now hungry for more princely gifts of like nature.

Even the great London *Times* was, it seems, no exception to this almost invariable rule, as will be seen from the following cable despatch sent from London on the twentieth of last October to the New York *American* and containing a summary of the London *Daily News*' exposure of the source and animating cause of the *Times*' papers:

London, Monday, Oct. 20.—The *Daily News* publishes a special article giving the details of a momentous intrigue, elaborate in its ramifications and audacious in its strategy. It suggests that the series of articles appearing in the London *Times* on "Municipal Socialism" were inspired by a trust comprising a ring of Anglo-American capitalists backed when necessary by the Pierpont Morgan exchequer, under the name of the British Electric Traction Company.

The managing director of this company is Emile Garche, of London, and it has a capital of £25,000,000, which it has distributed over one hundred allied undertakings all over the country, which pays 9 per cent. to the British Electric Traction Company, which holds debentures in the trust company, and is owned by 250 shareholders. One-fifth of the amount paid up paid from 35 to 55 per cent. while on the founders' shares the dividend has ranged from 1,000 to 1,800 per cent., the largest holder being J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr.

The trust's latest catspaw is the Industrial Freedom League, which includes Garche among its financial supporters. On the council also are J. S. Morgan & Co. and other directors and shareholders in the foregoing companies, and Mr. C. F. Moberly Bell, who is the manager of the *Times*.

The article points out how the *Times* articles quoted pamphlets by Garche and others all interested in the companies named. Garche is also said to have written a chapter in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* on the industrial development of electrical enterprises. The *Daily News* says that "a league exists to Americanize our municipal methods and traditions," and asks, "is England to turn at the bidding of the *Times* and the British Electrical Traction Company from the safe paths of coöperative municipal effort and deliver itself bound and helpless to the Pierpont Morgans and their trusts?"

## AND THE PEOPLE MUST PAY FOR IT ALL.

Some time ago when the Interstate Commerce Commission was putting some vexatious questions to Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, the latter gave as the reason for his purchasing the control of the Louisville and Nashville R. R. from Mr. John W. Gates, that he feared the railroad interests would be injured if the road remained in Mr. Gates's control. Mr. Morgan's exact words were: "I did not consider him a safe man. I thought the railroad interests would be injured if he were at the head of the system. My idea was that he was a dangerous man."

This reply seemed to give Mr. Morgan's apologists and special pleaders great satisfaction. How fortunate, they urged, for the American people that there was a Mr. Morgan to save the great railway interests from dangerous men.

As is often the case in this unfeeling world, a pretty tale is marred by the brutal introduction of quite another version. So, unhappily for the philanthropic Wall Street magnate, Mr. Gates was summoned before the same commission, and in reply to a query as to Mr. Morgan's reason for wanting to secure control of this great railway system the Western magnate answered in these brutally frank words: "It was Mr. Morgan's intention to organize a Southern Securities Company in case the Northern Securities Company was legally sustained. He then intended to sell his stock to the holding company at \$170 per share."

Inasmuch as Mr. Morgan had bought the stock from the dangerous Mr. Gates and his friends for from \$130 to \$150 per share, or for a total of \$43,860,000, and intended to sell it for \$170 a share, or for \$52,020,000, by the transaction it will be seen that he expected to pocket \$8,160,000 in the gamble—quite a handsome sum for philanthropically protecting the railroad interests at the expense of the American producing and consuming public (for let it never be forgotten that the dividends on all the fictitious as well as the real railroad values come out of the pockets of the people).

But Mr. Gates's interesting observation touching his philanthropic brother magnate is only a part of the story in which the American voter has a vital interest. In the course of his narration relative to the purchasing of the control of the Louisville and Nashville R. R. as given before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Mr. Gates said:

"Early in March I realized that L. & N. was a good stock to

buy. I learned that certain construction accounts had been carried on the books as running expenses. This would naturally give a false impression of the value of the road. It was deceptive bookkeeping, and it became apparent to me that a good block of money could be made out of the road.

"Louisville and Nashville was then selling around \$105 a share. I spoke with several of my friends concerning the advisability of taking up the stock of the road, and we formed a pool and went out after the stock.

"We bought Louisville and Nashville until we had 206,000 shares actually in our possession and another 100,000 shares in the possession of a brokerage firm under our control."

By this time it appears that Mr. Morgan's attention had been attracted to the possibilities offered him if he could organize a great Southern railway trust whereby traffic could be placed completely under the control of a small group of commercial barons whose appetite for control of public utilities grows by what it has long fed upon, and who have brought the art of bleeding the public almost to an exact science. Visions of the acquisition of eight million dollars in a preliminary gamble floated before his brain. He became solicitous for the railroad interests. In Mr. Gates he beheld a dangerous man—because it seemed apparent that he also realized the enormous value of the great railroad interests. Surely it was not safe to allow these immensely rich railway interests to remain in the hands of another man when there was the strong probability that the very pious and philanthropically inclined Mr. Morgan might realize many millions of dollars by their control. Accordingly this "safe" man, who had successfully organized the great Steel Trust, which is accumulating millions upon millions of profits for dividends on its inflated values, through charging American consumers from six to eleven dollars a ton more for steel than the same trust sells it for at a profit to foreign purchasers, sent post-haste to the "dangerous" man, for Mr. Gates in his testimony said: "I was awakened one night at the Waldorf-Astoria by Charles M. Schwab, who told me that Mr. Morgan wanted to see me the next morning at his office."

Mr. Gates hesitated about going to Mr. Morgan's office, because he feared the publicity the newspapers would give the matter; but finally meetings were arranged which ultimately resulted in Mr. Morgan's paying \$130 a share for one-third and \$150 a share for two-thirds of the stock held by Mr. Gates. This was \$7,140,000 more than had been paid for the stock.



It will be noticed from the above testimony that there had been deceptive bookkeeping carried on by the railroad officials, by which construction accounts had been entered as running expenses. This dishonest bookkeeping afforded a splendid opportunity for gamblers to make fortunes, or rather the favored gamblers to whose attention the shameful facts were brought. In this instance Mr. Gates was the favored party.

The special pleaders for the railway corporations are always boasting, in spite of the constant wrecking of railroads, of the splendid business management of the railways under private ownership and are insisting that under public control there would be danger of corruption and mismanagement. Yet under a democratic government in which the people were given the opportunity of government through the initiative and referendum, such shameful and dishonest action as the above would not occur, or if it should happen, the people would quickly administer punishment to the guilty parties. Even under governmental ownership in autocratic lands, like Germany, for example, who imagines for a moment that any such shamefully dishonest conduct as that to which Mr. Gates incidentally referred as a small and innocent fact would be tolerated?

But this is not all. Mr. Gates realized over seven million dollars on his gambling experiment. Mr. Morgan proposed to sell the stock he had purchased from Mr. Gates at a figure which would give him over eight million dollars in profits. He was to organize a Southern Securities Company, or a great railroad monopolistic trust, with an inflated capitalization that should more than cover the enormous profits which the "dangerous" man had realized and which the "safe" man hoped to realize; and on this inflated capitalization the people would be compelled to pay dividends, *i. e.*, the farmers and other producers, the traveling public and the consumers, would have the additional burdens to bear which would represent the dividends on the watered stock or fictitious values. Thus in the last analysis it is clear that the bread-winners of America would have been plundered of their millions to augment the already dangerously over-rich Morgans, Gates, and their confederates; for we cannot harbor the thought that the "safe" and solicitous Mr. Morgan would allow any railroad over which he exercises a guardian's care to be wrecked after the once popular methods in vogue during the time when the late Jay Gould was the most prominent gambler in Wall Street.

When will the American people arouse to the majesty of



awakened freemen and put a stop to this most demoralizing species of gambling? When will they demand, not only for the sake of posterity, but for the sake of their own pockets and the pockets of every producer and consumer, that the masses shall no longer be bled to pay dividends on water, and that the millions now being extorted from them shall be saved through popular ownership and control of the railways? When they do this not only will freights and traveling expenses be greatly reduced, but the most fruitful source of governmental corruption will be removed.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.\*

TRUTH. By Emile Zola. Translated by Ernest A. Vizetelly. Cloth. Pp. 575. Price \$1.50. New York: John Lane.

### I.

"Truth" is the third of the proposed four social gospels in which M. Zola designed to set forth what he believed to be the great fundamental verities upon which the advance of civilization and the happiness of humanity depend. It is a noble and a very important contribution to twentieth century fiction, dealing in a convincing manner with the question of popular education or the dissemination of knowledge. The power of truth and the degradation, misery, and blighting influence, as well as the futility in the long run, of all attempts to ignore truth, silence reason, and stifle justice, are emphasized in such a manner as to deeply impress the thoughtful reader. A special interest attaches to this work because the Dreyfus case serves as the basis for one of the chief narratives in the romance, and also because this novel is the last word from the great Frenchman's pen.

### II.

In the opening chapters of "Truth" the reader is brought face to face with a shameful murder. A little hunchbacked boy, nephew of the Hebrew teacher of the communal or free school in the little town of Maillebois, has been brutally killed. The crime was committed by a priest whose passions and abnormal appetites have too frequently led him to commit great evils. Two brother priests arriving on the scene of the murder succeed in suppressing evidence that points to the real criminal being a member of the faculty of the religious school; and to save the scandal and injury which would result to the Church if suspicion should settle over the Brothers' School, the priests, led by a prominent Jesuit, throw suspicion upon the Hebrew teacher of the communal school, the double motive being to save themselves and to destroy the free schools against which the Roman Church has waged such relentless war, especially during the last thirty years.

Racial prejudice is quickly aroused by the multitudinous members

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\*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

of the religious orders and the press, so largely controlled by Jesuit influences. The Jews are denounced as having sold France to Germany, and numerous other absurd tales are scattered broadcast such as were employed with such telling effect when the reactionary French army, the Church, the monarchists, and the conservative press created a nation-wide wave of emotional insanity during the Dreyfus agitation that for a long time engulfed reason and made the people blind to the sacred demands of justice, truth, and fair play.

The result in the case of Simon, the Hebrew teacher, is similar to the fate of Dreyfus. He is illegally convicted and is transported. A communal teacher, Marc Froment, the real hero of the book, and the unfortunate Jew's brother set to work to establish the innocence of Simon. This arouses the alarm and deadly hate of the Church, and a life and death struggle ensues covering many years, during which Genevieve, the wife of Marc Froment, comes under the influence of a reactionary grandmother and of the priests. The old convent religious teachings are revived, and she quits her husband, whom she dearly loves, just when he most needs her support.

The chapters describing the machinations of the Church and the religious or Brothers' schools to gain political ascendancy and to destroy the free or communal school system of France while fomenting a reactionary spirit, are vivid, powerful and convincing in their simple realism. It is the old battle of darkness against the holy candor of dawn; of superstition, blind authority and dogmatic oppression against knowledge, free thought, truth and justice.

The Dreyfus case enters largely into the story of Simon, as will be readily seen by those who follow his illegal conviction, his transportation, the agony of his long years of suffering, the revision of the case by the Court of Cassation, the return of the prisoner, the new trial in one of the most reactionary towns in France, before a reactionary judge and prosecutor, the second conviction notwithstanding the overwhelming proof of innocence, and the pardon of the victim. So also in the aftermath. The apparent temporary triumph of the reactionary power is very brief, for the republic has at last become alarmed. Her very life is threatened. She finds that the Roman Catholic schools throughout the length and breadth of the nation are in the hands of monarchism and reaction—the deadly foes of free thought, free government, and popular or secular education; and as a result the government takes strong and vigorous action looking toward strengthening the public schools and saving her own existence by the suppression of the institutions that for thirty years have carried on a relentless war against the republic.

After the pardon of Simon, Marc Froment's wife, who has become convinced of the innocence of the victim and of the righteousness of her husband's action, returns to the old home, and happiness again reigns at the little fireside; and as the years pass the great cause of free and secular education steadily grows. The children of to-day become the free, independent, truth-fearing and justice-loving citizens of

to-morrow, and the breath of freedom and a lofty humanitarianism begins to permeate the vitals of the once decrepit republic.

The closing chapters of the story present a beautiful picture of the sunset time in happy lives. The great work to which the hero has given his life is crowned with success, and the silver of age that crowns the father and mother has brought with it the rich fruition that comes only to those who unswervingly follow the light. The whole scene reminds one of the eventide, when the heavens are aflame with glory and the earth is golden with the sun's last rays.

### III.

M. Zola's great purpose in this novel was to boldly emphasize the eternal majesty and persisting vitality of truth, which may be defeated, crushed, and apparently overthrown, yet in the course of time is sure to arise vindicated; while the powers of darkness, though retarding the emancipation of humanity, blighting the happiness of life, and degrading and besotting the nation in precise proportion as they succeed in retarding truth, yet in the end must inevitably fall before the divine and majestic mistress of progress and handmaid of emancipation. He strives further to teach a lesson which is perhaps the most important truth for present-day society to digest and assimilate, and that is that the hope of civilization lies in a popular education which shall so emancipate the mind from emotionalism, hysteria, and prejudice that it shall be able to make reason based on truth and justice the arbiter in all questions that arise in life. The only education that is safe is one which shall create a passion for justice and truth that shall guide the reason and judgment and subordinate the influence of prejudice, passion, and all considerations of expediency and policy. Until such education obtains, no people or civilization will be immune from waves of emotional insanity which crush reason and set at naught the demands of truth, right and justice, leading to the perpetration of frightful crimes—such, for example, as the Dreyfus case. So long as truth and justice are subordinated to anything, and so long as reason is denied mastery over the promptings of passion, the people at any moment may be lashed into a frenzy amounting to general dementia. This emotional insanity may be produced by subtly influencing the public imagination, as, for instance, by appeals to religious prejudice prompted by the pernicious interests of some class, by personal ambition, or by other essentially narrow, low and unworthy motives. It may be the work of the church, of the army, or of other reactionary influences acting in concert, as in the Dreyfus case; or there may be rich and powerful corporations in the shadow, stimulating a sensational press and other public opinion-forming organs which serve to create a panic in the public mind which eventuates in the perpetration of crimes against freedom and justice.

M. Zola believed that the hope of France lay in the triumph of secular and compulsory education. He had all faith in the triumph of

truth, justice and fraternity if the reason could be emancipated. And it should be remembered to his eternal honor that he, more than any other Frenchman, called France back to a sense of justice in the affair of Dreyfus, and he more than any one else compelled her to realize the deadly peril that confronted the republic through the reactionary education of the religious schools during the past thirty years.

This book is a luminous exposition of how the truth is slowly triumphing over religious superstition and reaction in France. To us the fatal flaw in the work is found in the fact that M. Zola, as is the wont of reformers, has gone to an extreme that in a measure obscures his vision. While the reactionary influences were closing the door to the larger truth of the present, M. Zola failed to see the truth that the past possessed, because that truth was well-nigh obscured by superstition, gross idolatry, self-seeking, falsehood, and hypocrisy. Seeing all this, seeing the general indifference to justice and the cause of virtue, and beholding the hostility to mental emancipation, he failed to see the spiritual verities which have persisted throughout the ages and which are to civilization what oxygen is to physical life. Emotionalism stimulated on the lower plane becomes a species of insanity that is degrading in its influence; but when emotion finds expression on the higher plane of being, we have spiritual exaltation which blossoms forth in the most glorious manifestations of truth, justice and love, finding expression in the Sermon on the Mount, in the Golden Rule, and in the lives of the vast majority of the noblest and best men and women who have enriched the civilizations of all ages. This stimulation of the emotional nature on the higher plane has also bequeathed to humanity much of its richest treasure. In art it flowers in the genius of Phidias, Michael Angelo, and Raphael; in music, in Beethoven and Wagner. The spiritual side of life was in reality the very fount from which Zola was drawing his inspiration when he thundered against the crimes of the Church, the army and the reactionary press. It was the source from which his passion for truth, love, and justice sprang; but the recreancy of the Church, its crimes, and its apostacy from the teachings of its founders and the great spiritual luminaries of the ages, led M. Zola, as before it led Voltaire, to see in reason man's sole and only hope of deliverance.

This volume is very rich in sayings that are pregnant with vital truths and helpful suggestions. It is a book that merits and should receive the widest circulation among the most thoughtful and patriotic of our people.

**GREEK AND ROMAN STOICISM AND SOME OF ITS DISCIPLES.** By Charles H. Stanley Davis, M.D., Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 269. Price \$1.40 net. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Co.

Several years ago, after an evening's discussion on the philosophy of Stoicism and the lives and characters of some of its noblest representatives, I was urged by some friends present to prepare some papers dis-

cusssing Stoicism and some of its leading exponents, because, as one of the party observed, "the present-day Christian world seems to be strangely ignorant of the principles of Stoicism and of the lives and practices of the greatest Stoics." Acting on this suggestion I prepared a series of articles, one embracing the lives and teachings of Socrates, who though antedating Stoicism as a philosophical system, embodied in a large way the essential ethical teachings of this noble sect. This paper appeared several years ago in the ARENA. Later, for the Greenacre Summer School of Philosophy I prepared and delivered papers on the lives and teachings of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and of the slave Epictetus, and for the Massachusetts Metaphysical Club a paper dealing with the philosophy and ethics of Stoicism. I am, therefore, in a position to especially appreciate this extremely able and valuable work by Mr. Davis.

The author is a thinker well qualified to clearly present his subject and one who possesses a charmingly interesting style—something very important but unfortunately very rare among those who attempt to elucidate philosophical concepts. The book is a distinctly important contribution to the literature that makes for high thinking and worthy living. It not only acquaints the reader with the beliefs, teachings, and lives of the greatest of the Stoics, but it shows how the philosophy was in a real way the John the Baptist which prepared the Roman world for the exalted ethics of the Great Nazarene. The fundamental ethical truths are the same yesterday, to-day and forever, and they have been given to the world more or less clearly in all great periods of humanity's history, though perhaps never so luminously (save in the teachings of Jesus and his apostles) as in the philosophy of Stoicism and in the Upanishad and other of the greatest religious books of India.

There are in this volume fourteen chapters, in which the author discusses "The Greek Religion;" "Greek Philosophy;" "Socrates;" "Founders of Stoicism;" "Doctrines of Stoicism;" "Roman Stoicism;" "Roman Jurisprudence;" "Relation to Christianity;" "The Lives of Epictetus, Seneca and Marcus Aurelius;" together with extended selections from the writings of the above philosophers.

This is a work which every thoughtful parent and teacher should not only carefully peruse, but bring before the serious attention of their children and pupils, for no one can read its pages without having his moral nature materially strengthened and his ideals exalted.

**MILLIONAIRE HOUSEHOLDS AND THEIR DOMESTIC ECONOMY.** By Mary E. Carter. Cloth. Pp. 303. Price, \$1.40 net. New York, D. Appleton & Co.

This volume is in a certain sense a practical handbook for young wives of wealth, discussing as it does in the minutest details and in a painstaking way the various duties of each individual employee in the care-taking of modern mansions. Incidentally the reader obtains



glimpses of the luxurious and too frequently butterfly life of our very rich who delight in the name of the "smart set."

Were this all that could be said of the work, it might be a valuable guide or handbook in the same way as a reliable cook-book is invaluable to the young wife whose faulty education has failed to supply her with that thorough training in domestic economy which should be a part of the curriculum in every girls' school throughout the republic, and yet it would merit no special word of commendation in these pages.

But Mrs. Carter is a woman of very superior mind and of high moral ideals, and she has invested the volume with so much of her own fine spirit that it cannot fail to give a distinct moral uplift to the rich young wife who seeks information from its pages; and it will tend to make the parvenue pause in her thoughtless arrogance, while her better nature—the divinity that is resident in every one—will sanction the quiet but thoughtful pleas for justice, for consideration, and for a broad spirit of humanity in dealing with employees that will not only make the young matron's pathway much easier, but will serve to refine, ennoble, and enrich her life. To fully appreciate the spirit of the work one must read it from cover to cover, but something of this rare quality may be gathered from the following paragraphs on "Ideal Living:"

"Is ideal living possible? Yes, and no. None live up to the ideals of to-day. If it were otherwise they would cease to be ideals—for true ideals have their inception and abiding place in the mental realm, and are the fruit of aspiration and always beyond immediate realization. Every ideal actualized opens a vista disclosing fresh visions beckoning us on and on, higher and still higher. Therefore none of our present-day life can be, to those living in it, ideal. Much of it may be the actualization of some of our ancestors' unrealized hopes and dreams, regarded by many of their time as Utopian or absurd.

"Even upon the material plane we now have in our every-day common experience what would have been pronounced visionary and impossible of fulfilment a hundred or even fifty years ago.

"May we not reasonably expect spiritual development to keep pace with material progress? Should it not do so? The first ocean steamer that crossed the Atlantic is said to have carried over upon its initial trip a newly printed book, the type scarcely dry, written by a wiseacre of that time to prove conclusively—to his own satisfaction—the impossibility of such a trip. His strongest argument against Atlantic steamship navigation was the supposed impossibility of carrying enough coal on board the vessel for such a long voyage. Who reads or cares about that book or its fossilized author now?

"Is it not true that only those who are possessed by ideals and are striving for their realization may be said to live or to have life? Others simply exist, vegetate. Without its idealists the world would long ago have stagnated. 'Where there is no vision the people perish.' Ideals are vivifying influences, the breath of life for men and women and nations."

The last eighteen pages of the volume are given to a fine collection of thoroughly tested recipes. The work is one of the handsomest specimens of American book-making of recent years.

THE SOCIALIST AND THE PRINCE. By Mrs. Fremont Older.  
Cloth. Pp. 309. Price, \$1.50. New York, Funk & Wagnalls  
Company.

This story, doubtless suggested by the great anti-Chinese agitation which convulsed San Francisco several years ago, chiefly concerns the persons of a labor leader who possesses great personal magnetism and power as an orator and organizer, an Italian prince consumed by the grand passion, and the erratic, ill-balanced and morbidly emotional, though dashing daughter of one of the high-priests of plutocracy. The latter is an amazing character even in fiction, though in spite of the exaggerations of the creation it is in a certain sense typical of the unhealthy product of the mushroom aristocracy who has been born and reared in an atmosphere of artificiality. She alternately falls in love with and promises to wed the Italian prince and the labor orator, and is the cause of a duel that almost cuts short the love-making of the former, while it ruins the political prestige of the agitator.

It is a rather bright story. The author possesses a charmingly easy style, though the introduction of numerous slang expressions on the part of the leading characters detracts from the grace of the work. Her descriptions, though frequently spirited, do not as a rule impress us as being convincing. Indeed, one has only to compare "The Octopus," that other California novel by a young American author, with this first book by Mrs. Older, to realize the difference between genius and mere cleverness. Mr. Norris's book is distinctly great. In it colossal typical characters are so presented that it is impossible for the reader to escape the feeling that he is reading about real men of blood, bone and passion. But with Mrs. Older's chief creations it is different. They are clever, but to us they lack that indefinite, subtle quality that differentiates characters in fiction as does the breath of life differentiate a man from his effigy. Then again, the author displays the same looseness in the employment of differentiating terms that marks the modern newspaper paragrapher. What would be thought of the accuracy of a writer who characterized Confucius as a Christian because the Chinese philosopher who antedated the advent of Christ many centuries, voiced the sentiments of the Golden Rule and other ethical theories taught by Jesus? Yet here is an author who at all times designates one of the chief characters as a socialist, when she is speaking of a person who does not from first to last voice the philosophy or theory of socialism. "The Chinese must go; if not by the ballot, then by the bullet." This is the keynote of his harangues. Yet what has that to do with socialism? True, he appeals to the workingmen and asks them to unite at the ballot, and in this particular he is almost as urgent as is the republican defender of protection in his frantic appeals to labor to unite and support his party in the hope of a full dinnerpail. But what has this to do with socialism? Indeed, there is nothing to indicate that Paul Stryne, the hero and so-called socialist, has ever become acquainted with the works of Karl Marx or any socialistic authority; but

by his own confession the life of Napoleon Bonaparte has more than ought else been an influencing factor in his career. This shows how thoroughly the term "socialists" is a misnomer. Such ignorance or looseness of expression is inexcusable in a penny-a-liner. But what shall we say when a novelist insists on holding up as a representative of a great social philosophy a character who appears to be entirely unconscious of any of the cardinal tenets of that philosophy?

These defects seriously mar the first-book of a new writer who promises better things, and whose work is in many respects superior to many of the American novels of the day.

WHAT MANNER OF MAN. By Edna Kenton. Cloth. Pp. 292.  
Price \$1.50. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

In "What Manner of Man" the author has departed widely from the beaten track, both as regards the plot and the location of the scene of the story. Much of the action takes place on a wild, rocky island off the northern coast of Scotland, which owns no allegiance to any king other than The Rohan,—the last descendent of a long line of rulers whose will has for centuries been absolute law to the rough fishing folk of Eilean Rohan.

The plot deals chiefly with the beautiful daughter of The Rohan, Clodah, and Kirk Thayer, a famous artist who sees the girl by chance while on a summer cruise in the northern seas, and who instantly determines that he must have the child as a model for a picture upon which he has long been working. To accomplish his purpose he marries the innocent trusting girl, taking her to London, where he has his studio. The story of Clodah's gradual awakening to the fact that he cares for her only as a model for his cherished picture, her flight to her father's home, and Kirk's too late remorse at having tortured a human soul that he might portray its agony upon his canvas, is all told with a dramatic power which lifts the book above the average level of present-day novels and marks the writer as a woman who might give the world a work which was of real value, if she chose to look upon the normal and healthy rather than the morbid side of life.

With all its power and its charm of style, the book is so thoroughly gloomy and depressing that to our mind it can serve no good purpose. In an age like our own, which presents so many essentially tragic features, the people need more restful and encouraging books. Tales of gloom and darkness are only of value when they convey some great historic fact or impart some needed ethical lesson. "What Manner of Man" does neither.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

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A WORD TO OUR READERS:—With our next issue we open the twentieth volume of the ARENA. During the past six months we have received many letters from old subscribers expressing interest in what some of them affectionately term their "old friend, the people's review." "There is again," says one of these well-wishers, "a moral enthusiasm about the ARENA that was so conspicuous a feature of the magazine during the first half of the last decade, when the ARENA was almost a Bible to tens of thousands of our people." It is our desire and determination to make the ARENA in the future much better and more helpful to our readers than at any time in the past. It is a source of great pleasure to us to know that the great ARENA family is not only steadily growing, but that its members are coming again into that sympathetic relation which existed when the ARENA was being read by over one hundred thousand of the most thoughtful Americans every month. The management of this magazine is more determined than ever to make the ARENA in every way worthy to be the foremost and most authoritative voice in magazine literature *for progress and the conscience element in our political, social and economic life*. But in this work, as in other enterprises, if the greatest measure of success possible is to be attained, there must be earnest, hearty coöperation among all those interested in success; and we ask all our friends to show their appreciation by circulating the ARENA during the summer months among their friends and calling attention to those papers that especially interest them. In this way the more thoughtful men and women of each community will become so well acquainted with the ARENA that many of them will ere long join the great family of its subscribers. We also should be pleased to receive communications from friends with suggestions and criticisms. In this way editors and publishers frequently receive great assistance in their efforts to meet the needs of the people, while the various members of the magazine circle are also thus brought into closer and more sympathetic relations. The ARENA, more than any other original review of opinion, depends upon the support of the subscribers for its success; and at a time like the present, when the basic principles of true democracy are being so subtly and persistently assailed by strong reactionary and essentially unrepblican influences and by the representatives of special privilege and class interest, it is of the utmost importance that the friends of democracy, justice and social progress possess an ably sustained magazine that can always be relied upon to courageously defend the fundamental principles of free government.

**ABUSES OF INJUNCTION:**—Those who have followed with critical interest and patriotic concern the steady and systematic advance of corporate wealth in the United States, and its efforts to thwart or render innocuous all measures proposed to curb its unjust and unrepublican encroachments in evading the penalty of law-breaking and in successfully securing extraordinary powers from certain judges, in the way of injunctions levied to prevent the wage-earners from exercising hitherto unquestioned rights, will be impressed by the many points of similarity between the action of the modern commercial feudalism and that of King Charles I. and his councillors at different periods when that king undertook to destroy popular rights and establish an odious despotism. Perhaps nowhere did Charles sin more heinously than in making the judiciary abuse its sacred functions and become the creature of his despotic desires; and certainly to-day there are few things that have aroused more intense feelings of bitterness and resentment on the part of millions of thoughtful Americans than the recent action of certain judges in forbidding acts that are regarded by leading jurists, lawyers, and other thoughtful citizens as being lawful and proper.

We have arranged for a series of short papers for early issues of the *ARENA* in which eminent progressive thinkers and authorities will discuss "The Abuses of Injunctions." This series is opened in the present issue by a paper of great value from the authoritative pen of Judge Samuel Seabury, of New York City. It is an eminently judicial, temperate, yet outspoken contribution to the literature of protest and cannot fail to do much good for the cause of pure democracy. Judge Seabury will be followed by Mr. Ernest Crosby and the Hon. Clarence S. Darrow, who will further point out the evils and dangers of the present abuses.

**MR. POWELL'S PLEA FOR A SANER LIFE:**—Mr. E. P. Powell, the well-known author of "Our Heredity from God," "Nullification and Secession in the United States," and other standard works, and one of the old and most valued contributors to the *ARENA*, discusses in a luminous manner in this issue the insanity of urban life and the rational solution of one of the gravest problems that confronts us. This essay is one of the most thoughtful and suggestive as well as inspiring magazine articles we have read in months.

**IMPORTANT ECONOMIC DISCUSSIONS:**—In this issue we give a brief paper prepared by Walter S. Logan, one of the foremost representatives of the legal profession in New York City and a former president of the New York Bar Association, on "The Right of the Laborer to His Job." This paper was delivered before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, but was necessarily only heard by a very limited audience; and at our solicitation the author has carefully edited it for the *ARENA*. "The Right of the Laborer to His Job" is an extremely important contribution to present-day social discussions. It is, indeed, a hopeful sign of the times when leading lawyers in the Empire City thus boldly and ably champion the cause of the bread-winners.



Next month we shall present a brief discussion by the Governor of Rhode Island on "The Remedy for Bribery," in which this crying evil is thoughtfully and suggestively discussed.

Another very important economic discussion which will appear in our next issue is a debate which recently took place under the auspices of the Boston Economic Club between Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, President of the National Direct Legislation League, and Hon. William F. Dana, of the Massachusetts Legislature. These discussions were not taken down stenographically, but were such able presentations of the arguments for and against the popular initiative that we arranged with the speakers to reduce them to writing for our readers. The presentation will be the most complete discussion of the pros and cons of this vital question that has appeared in many months.

**CLEVELAND'S GREAT MUNICIPAL VICTORY:**—Professor Edward Bemis enjoys a nation-wide reputation as a fearless and progressive yet careful social and economic thinker who has ever placed the good of the commonwealth above all personal considerations. His paper on Mayor Johnson's election prepared for this issue of the ARENA will deeply interest all friends of municipal progress and higher civic ideals.

**THE SUPREME ISSUE IN THE REPUBLIC:**—All political issues dwarf before the question of preserving the essential principles of democratic government. With Majority Rule, or the direct initiative and referendum, in active operation, the underlying principles of free government will be established and the reign of corrupt corporations, venal lobbies, and unprincipled political bosses will be overthrown. Majority Rule will not cure all the evils of the body politic; but it will overthrow the most deadly peril that confronts a republic. It is the first and most important issue before the American people. For this reason careful attention should be given to Mr. Shibley's record of the year's battle for free government or the people's rule. The chairman of the National Federation for Majority Rule is doing a work of inestimable value to the cause of republican government, and a work in which every reader of the ARENA should be actively enlisted before another election arrives. It is no partisan measure. It is simply the battle of the people against corporate greed and reactionary influences which in effect are destroying the ideals and the principles of popular government.

**TWENTIETH CENTURY EDUCATIONAL CENTERS:**—In this issue President Miller, of Ruskin University, and one of the associate editors of the ARENA, contributes a thoughtful paper on progressive education and its new center—that of Ruskin University. Nothing is more needed than free, untrammelled, progressive educational centers where our young men and women will be trained to become original thinkers and where the heart and the hand will be developed as well as the intellect trained; and Ruskin University promises to make these distinguishing features of its work. In this connection our readers will be interested to know that Prof. Thomas E. Will, formerly president of the Kansas State Agricultural College, and Professor Ross, late of Ruskin University, together with some other progressive educators, have just opened a Socialist college at Wichita, Kansas, in which the principles of scientific Socialism will be ably and thoroughly taught in connection with the regular college curriculum.

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